THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE
OLD TESTAMENT

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF TH.D. IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Cyril C. Richardson
Dean of Graduate Studies.

by

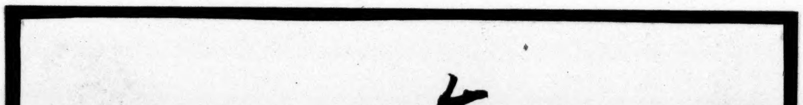
Lloyd R. Neve
udolph

1967

WHITSUNDAY

A breeze of delicate fragrance
stirred.
They arose,
Three thousand faithful.

Tetsu Takeda



聖霊降臨
立ちあがる
弟子三千や
風薫る

ABSTRACT

THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements For the Degree
Of TH.D. In Union Theological Seminary

by

Lloyd R. Neve

1967

The spirit (ruach) of God in the O.T., distinguished from the wind (ruach) and the human spirit (ruach), is a unique concept in the Ancient Near East, having as its possible antecedents the divine wind and the emanating divine life-breath, both described in pre-Biblical Ancient Near Eastern texts.

Wind in the O.T. is never divine but on the contrary is increasingly subjected to a process of demotion which reduces it to an ordinary natural phenomenon. The human ruach has the meanings of vitality, breath, and finally the psychical meanings of disposition, will, and mind. The source of the concept, spirit of God, is not the frail, precarious human breath but rather the divine wind.

Even in the earliest period, which extends down to 900 B.C., the ruach is joined inseparably to Yahweh, being the means by which he acts for his people in the covenant-based salvation history. In addition to his powerful breath rolling back the waters at the Reed Sea, it was the charismatic spirit that empowered Moses, the elders, the judges, Saul, David, and the nebiim. In this early period its appearance is usually fitful, violent, with concomitant external manifestations and no apparent inward moral transformation in the recipient.

In the period which runs from Elijah to the exile the spirit of God is only infrequently mentioned, perhaps due to the fact that it is no longer associated with the monarchy for every mention of the spirit in this period is related in some way to the prophets; but this more probably is the reaction of the legitimate prophets to the excesses of the ecstatic nebiim. Only Micah publicly attributes his inspiration to the spirit and Isaiah, the only prophet who speaks of the spirit with any frequency, projects it mainly into the future. No verbs indicating violent possession are used. The spirit, which remains closely subordinate to Yahweh, represents primarily his power or his anger.

The period from 593-460 B.C. is the primary O.T. period relating to the spirit of God. In the Priestly source, the spirit plays no central role and seems to have been joined secondarily to that system. Nor did the spirit of God play a part in the wisdom tradition. The influence joining the spirit of God and wisdom must have been prophetic. Only in the prophetic literature is there moral vitality, driving purposiveness, and quickening power characterizing the spirit. In this period the prophets speak of the ruach as God's mind, describe the spirit's transforming power in the hearts of individual believers, and extend the work of the spirit to non-Israelites. The spirit is increasingly projected into the future, works as an interior moral influence in individuals, and is more frequently a permanent endowment. It is qualified as holy, while elements of will and cosmic universality are added.

The late literature, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, with only scattered references to the spirit, tend to view the spirit in retrospect or to repeat old forms.

In summary, the Hebrews used ruach in relation to God to mean God's power, life, anger, will, mind, even his presence, as he relates himself to his creation. Only the meanings life, power, will, and presence can be translated by the English word spirit. For anger, mind, and breath other words must be used. The activity of the spirit of God in the O.T. is described under the following categories: life-giving, power, gift-giving, inspiring the word, causing ecstasy, judgment and anger, guidance and teaching, the will and intelligence of God, God's presence.

There is nothing to indicate any significant personalization of the spirit in the O.T. and much that precludes it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Aims of the dissertation 1

Review of the literature 7

II. ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL ANTECEDENTS 13

Linguistic antecedents 13

Conceptual antecedents 16

The divine wind 16

The divine breath 21

III. A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE WORD FAMILY OF RUACH 26

IV. A SURVEY OF RELATED MEANINGS OF THE WORD RUACH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT 32

The ruach as wind 32

The ruach in man 43

Evidence towards a separate classification 44

Criteria for distinguishing the ruach of man 46

Survey of texts using ruach of man 47

Passages difficult of classification . . . 54

CHAPTER PAGE

Relation of the spirit of man to the Spirit of God 64
Evil ruach 70
Ruach as a ghost 75

PART TWO

V. THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE EARLIEST BIBLICAL TEXTS 77
Early poetry 78
Early historical writings 91
Summary of the earliest period 116
Comparison with ANE Texts 116
Origin of the Concept of the Spirit of God 120
Linguistic Influences 123
Summary of the Earliest Texts 124
VI. FROM ELIJAH TO THE EXILE 130
Historical writings 131
The pre-exilic prophets 140
Summary of the period 169
Statistics 169
Absence of the spirit of God from literature of this period 170
The spirit described in this period . . . 174

CHAPTER PAGE
VII. THE EXILE AND EARLY POST-EXILIC PERIOD . . . 179
  Historical writings 180
  Prophetic literature 197
  Wisdom literature 250
  Summary of this period 260
    Statistics 260
    The activity of the spirit 264
    The nature of the spirit 269
VIII. THE PSALMS 271
  Exegesis 271
  Summary of the Psalms 289
IX. LATE LITERATURE 291
  Prophetic literature 291
  Historical writings 294
  Summary of Judaism after the reconstruction 303
    Summary of the texts 303
    Reason for the paucity of references . . 306
    Nature of the spirit in the latest texts 308

PART THREE

CHAPTER PAGE

X. A COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF THE NATURE AND ACTIVITY OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD AS IT IS MANIFESTED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT 310

The activity of the spirit 312

  Life-giving 312

  Power 314

  Gift-giving 316

  Inspiring the Word 317

  Ecstatic Condition 319

  Judgment-anger 320

  Guidance-teaching 321

  Center of volition and intelligence of God himself 322

  Presence of God 323

The manner of its appearance 323

  Earliest period 324

  Pre-exilic 325

  Exilic and Post exilic 325

The relation of the spirit to Yahweh 326

  Gender 326

  Use of the article 327

  Verbs 327

CHAPTER PAGE

Adjectives 328

Miscellany 328

Conclusion 330

BIBLIOGRAPHY 331

APPENDIX 348

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of all the Old Testament terms used to express God's manner of relating himself to his creation and to his people, the one most difficult of comprehension, yet most vital for defining the nature of this relationship, is "spirit." According to the Biblical writers, the spirit played a part in all the major events of Israel's life. No area of Israel's existence, with the possible exception of the juridical, was exempt from its influence. To the spirit is attributed a vital role in creation and it is the spirit that is to be the means, par excellence, of God's renewal of his creation "in that day," in the eschaton.

However, in spite of this pervasive and inescapable presence of the spirit, so that through the course of Israel's history certain men were convinced that they were possessed by God's spirit, that they had experienced it as a reality, and that it had been an overpowering influence in their lives, and in spite of the fact that no one could escape its working and without it no life could exist, yet when one turns to lay hold on it, like the wind or the breath, it cannot be possessed and, partaking of the nature of God, it cannot easily be defined.

The problem then presents itself: here is a reality whose importance in the whole Old Testament will not allow its study to be neglected, but a reality whose intangible and indiscernible nature makes it difficult to define.

I. AIMS OF THIS DISSERTATION

The subject of this study is the spirit of God in the Old Testament. This means that the primary concern is not the whole of the word ruach and its meanings as used in the Old Testament but rather one aspect of ruach, ruach as used to refer to the being of God or to his activity, what is traditionally called "the spirit of God."[1] This means, also, a contradiction of the thesis that the Old Testament writers conceived of ruach as a comprehensive and all-pervading substance or element which became manifest, now as wind, now again as breath or spirit in man, later as a miraculous and wonderful element under the control of Yahweh.[2] It means, further, to raise the problem[3] concerning the Hebrew writers who, even though they used the same term *ruach* to mean wind, spirit in man, God's spirit, might not have thought of the three as manifestations of the same reality conceived of as *ruach*-substance, but rather as three separate elements, not unrelated, but not identical by any means.

---

[1] After the completion of this study it will be necessary to examine the word "spirit" in order to determine whether or not it is an adequate translation of ruach, cf. infra, pp. 309-312.

It cannot, therefore, be merely a matter of isolating the passages that speak of *ruach* and investigating them. Because the subject is not *ruach*, but rather, "the spirit of God," it will be necessary to identify the passages in the Old

---

[2] Cf. e.g., Paul Volz, *Der Geist Gottes* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1910), p. 23, "Man erklärt sich das so, dass sie den übersinnlichen Stoff in sich tragen. Auch hierfür wird der Terminus Ruh gebraucht, und es tritt zum Ruh-dämon und zum Ruh-geist als drittes die Vorstellung des Ruh-elementes hinzu. In diesem Fall is die Ruh nicht etwas Personhaftes, sondern ein Stoff, ein Fluidum;" or p. 22, "im Geigenteil haben wir hier meist ausserjahwistische, fremdartige Stoffe vor uns;" or p. 63, "Die Ruh ist umfassender als Jahwe, sofern sie die gesamte übersinnliche Sphäre umspannt, sie ist religionsgeschichtlich altertümlicher als Jahwe, sofern sie das Dämonische und Animistische einschliesst. Ihre spezifische Eigenart ist das rein Wunderhafte, nicht das Sittliche;" or p. 69, "Die Ruh auf ihrer ersten religionsgeschichtlichen Stufe ist selbständige Potenz. Die zweite religionsgeschichtliche Stufe besteht nun in der positiven Einordnung der Ruh in Jahwe."

[3] found in any Hebrew lexicon, e.g., F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 924-926, which gives no overall meaning for a *ruach* substance but classifies the meanings as they pertain to the wind, to breath, or to God.

Testament which speak of the spirit (ruach) of God[4] as distinguished from the wind (ruach) and the spirit (ruach) in the creature in order to make the proper exegetical study leading to a statement of the theology of the spirit of God in the Old Testament. This means also that the classification of the different meanings of ruach will differ again from that found in the lexicons, which give a separate classification of "breath", be it the breath of God or the breath of the creature.[5] But the purpose of this thesis is to study the problem whether or not there is ontological continuity between the breath of the creature and the breath of God,[6] and whether or not they should be given separate classifications.[7] The breath of the creature is a reality which is common to every living being. But "breath" as applied to God is used metaphorically to indicate his spirit just as it can also be used metaphorically to indicate the wind. God does not literally have breath, nor does

---

[4] The exegete should not, however, assume the presence of the spirit of God in passages where ruach is not mentioned at all, as has been done by Robert Koch, Geist und Messias (Wien: Verlag Herder, 1950), pp. 47 ff., or Mylio Westphal, La Ruach Dans L'Ancien Testament (Geneva: 1958), pp. 71 ff., or Paul van Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé, source de vie dans L'A.T.", Revue Biblique, 44(1935) p. 481.

[5] Cf. e.g., Frants Buhl, Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1954), p. 748.

[6] Cf. Westphal, op. cit., p. 31: "Il y a donc une relation ontologique entre la ruach du Createur et celle de la créature." Cf. also pp. 33, 34.

[7] Cf. infra, pp. 44. Also, Cf. Alfred Jepsen, Nabi (München: C. H. Beck, 1934), p. 15, who says that nowhere in the Old Testament is there to be found the idea that the ruach in man is part of the divine essence or has unity with God.

Genesis 2:7 say that he blows his own breath into the creature.[8] Therefore the classifications proposed in this study are not wind, breath, spirit; but rather wind, ruach in man, whether breath or spirit, and ruach of God, be it expressed metaphorically as breath, or actually as spirit.[9]

The existence and reality of the spirit of God, as distinguished from spirits, from spirit, or from wind, is unquestioned in the New Testament period. But the giving of the spirit at Pentecost was not something new but was considered to be a fulfillment of prophecies spoken during the Old Testament period. It can therefore be concluded that at least in the later courses of the Old Testament the existence and activity of the spirit of God has been spoken of in such a way as to distinguish it from any other kind of ruach, or even more so, to show it to be distinct from any general or undifferentiated ruach-substance, even though it bears the same name ruach.

---

[8] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, "Hebrew Psychology", in The People and the Book, ed., A.S. Peake, (Oxford: University Press, 1925), p. 368.

[9] Johannes Scheepers, Die Gees Van God en Die Gees Van Die Mens in Die Ou Testament (Amsterdam: J.H. Kok, 1954), and Daniel Lys, Rûach, Le Souffle Dans L'Ancien Testament (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), have constructed their studies around just such a triple classification. Others have made no such classification and have frequently confused ruach as wind, for example, with the spirit of God, cf. Thierry Maertens, Le Souffle et l'Esprit de Dieu (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959).

If then the prophets and writers of post-exilic Israel spoke and wrote of a power, a reality, a life coming from God and thought of as the spirit of God, a reality so distinct in its delineation that its coming could be anticipated into the New Testament period, it must next be asked, how far back into the origins of Old Testament literature can this concept of the spirit of God as a separate reality be traced? And a corollary to it is the question, at what point in the history of Israel does this concept of the spirit of God touch or separate from related categories such as the wind (*ruach*), or the spirit in man (*ruach*), and what is its relation to them? And thirdly, how does the concept develop, what new meanings does it take on, what is the image that finally emerges at the end of the Old Testament period? To answer these questions will be the task of this enquiry.

To identify the subject of this study, however, by reference to the New Testament event of Pentecost does not mean that the subject will be studied according to New Testament categories. The subject concerns the spirit of God as it is described in the Old Testament. This means that as much as possible the investigator must place himself in the Old Testament milieu in order not to prejudge the subject by approaching it with preconceived notions derived either from the New Testament or from any other contexts alien to the Old Testament.

This study has been arranged in chronological periods in order to show adequately the movement and development of

Old Testament thought from the earlier to the later periods. The dating of some of the passages is at best a difficult matter and should not be done too facilely; however, since neither the dating of passages nor their assignment to the proper sources is the object of this enquiry, passages have been assigned to their proper period or proper source arbitrarily with a reference, in difficult cases, to the authority or authorities consulted.

Finally, two additional points must be made clear in regard to the title "spirit of God." This inquiry will not be limited to the passages containing the name _Elohim_, "God," but will include all passages which have reference to God, whether by implication or by the actual use of one of the divine names. Second, _ruach_ in some of the passages classified under "spirit" of God might rather be translated "breath" of God and, in a few cases at least, perhaps even "anger" of God. Thus this study will not be limited to passages where _ruach_ can only be translated by the English word "spirit," but rather this inquiry will include every passage, regardless of the translation of _ruach_ in that passage, that is concerned with the one reality which is termed the "spirit of God."

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This subject appears to be one of the large untouched areas of Old Testament research. No major study in English on the spirit of God in the Old Testament has been made. Scattered references to the subject or sketchy studies of it are to be found in the Bible dictionaries, encyclopedias, periodicals, and Old Testament theologies, or are affixed as an introduction to more detailed studies of the New Testament doctrines of the Holy Spirit. In languages other than English, up until very recent years, the standard and almost only work on the subject was a book written in the German language in 1910.[10] Not only is a large portion of the book devoted to the study of the spirit of God in post-Biblical literature, but the fact that the author's findings are in large part made in the framework of the old Wellhausen school of thought greatly decreases the value of the book as a source for reference. That is to say, Volz finds in the Old Testament the development of the religion of Israel from the lower forms of polydaemonism and polytheism to the monotheism of the period of the prophets. In this framework he supposes that the Hebrews first of all considered ruach to be an independent and wonderful substance or fluid pervading the universe, becoming manifest as evil spirits, or as separate divinities, to be finally subjected to Yahweh as his spirit from the time of the major prophets in the eighth century.

After a long hiatus a number of studies have appeared in Europe bearing more or less directly on the subject. In

---

[10] Paul Volz, op. cit.

1950 there was published *Geist und Messias* by Robert Koch and in 1959 there appeared *Le Souffle et l'Esprit de Dieu* by Thierry Maertens. Both of these books are arranged topically rather than chronologically, and they present a doctrinal more than an exegetical study of the relevant passages. The same thing is true of a series of periodical articles written on the spirit of God by P. van Imschoot which have been summarized in his *Théologie de L'Ancien Testament*.[11] In these works the Old Testament writers are too often made to speak with a New Testament voice, but these books are not without value for this thesis.

Very recently two detailed studies of *ruach* in the Old Testament have appeared. The first, *Die Gees van God en Die Gees van Die Mens in Die Ou Testament*, by Johannes H. Scheepers, is not only in the little-known Afrikaans language, but the fact that the very latest passages where *ruach* appears are treated side by side with some of the earlier or even earliest passages, the work treating the Old Testament as an undifferentiated whole, makes it impossible for the author to give an accurate account of the movement of Old Testament thought from the earliest to the latest periods.

Finally, there has appeared a book in the French language, published in 1962 by Daniel Lys, which represents a fresh new approach to the subject.[12] This seems to be the first work which, untrammeled by the faulty approach of the "comparative religions" school of thought or by a frame of reference derived from Hegelian philosophy, yet making complete use of all the results of the last century of Old Testament research, has attempted to present a unified and coordinated view of the whole _ruach_ concept in the Old Testament, whether it is used of wind, of man, or of God. The author has succeeded in placing himself in the center of Israel's existence and articulating her idea of the ruach far more satisfactorily than any other writer on this subject. Needless to say, this book will provide valuable background material on _ruach_ as wind and the _ruach_ in man, seen against which the spirit of God can be more readily understood.

---

[11] P. van Imschoot, *Théologie de L'Ancien Testament*, Vol. I. (Tournai: Desclee and Company, 1954). The magazine articles by this author are referred to in the body of this thesis and appear in the bibliography.

However, Lys's approach to the subject of the spirit of God differs considerably from that which is proposed for this dissertation. In making the general concept _ruach_ the subject of his study, and unifying the varied meanings of this word under the one classification "breath," Lys has attacked the problem in a different manner from that proposed for this dissertation, which intends to search for the earliest appearances of the spirit of God and follow it in its multi-channeled course down to the end of the Old Testament period. As a consequence of Lys's method, his results are more often stated from the general perspective of ruach as a whole than in specific relation to the spirit of God (see especially his summary on page 341 ff.). Secondly, in studying the spirit of God as just one aspect of the ruach concept in the Old Testament, Lys has found it necessary to use the overall classification of "breath" to give unity to the various meanings of ruach found in the Old Testament. Whether, however, "breath" can properly characterize the activity of the spirit of God in specific passages such as Isaiah 40:12 is seriously questioned. If the spirit of God is studied as a separate subject, there is no necessity to force it into a classification such as "breath," which must also be made to contain "wind" and the "ruach in man." If a one-word characterization of the spirit of God were necessary, perhaps "power" would be more suitable, although the great variety of meanings found related to the spirit of God seems to defy any neat classification. Thirdly, Lys states his conclusions more in terms of modern existentialist philosophy than in the categories of biblical theology: note, for example, his constant use of such terms as existence, freedom, relation, dialogue, encounter, autonomous, liberation, entity, scientific, dynamic, etc. Fourthly, the fact that Lys has written the book as a companion volume to his study of the nephesh, and to his forthcoming study of leb, has given to his study of ruach a considerable anthropological slant.[13] An exegetical study of the spirit of God stated as much as possible in the terms of biblical theology, which is the task of this dissertation, represents a study pointed in quite a different direction from that of Lys'. Finally, with only scattered references to the non-Babylonian Ancient Near Eastern background for the Old Testament concept of the ruach (the Babylonian Creation Epic plays a large role in his book), it would seem necessary to provide references to Egyptian and Ugaritic sources as well as documentation from Akkadian sources in order that Israel could be placed more squarely in the cultural milieu she inherited--or reacted against. Also, concentrating on the spirit of God as this present study proposes to do, a more detailed exegesis can be accomplished and a more extensive theological statement can be prepared than Lys has been able to provide because of the more general nature of his study.[14]

---

[12] Daniel Lys, _op_. _cit_.

---

[13] Cf. ibid., p. 26, "N'oublions pas que notre recherche est avant tout une enquête anthropologique. . . "

[14] Cf. his summary on the spirit of God, ibid., pp. 341-348.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL ANTECEDENTS

In the content of her faith Israel appears to have been a "peculiar" people among the nations of the Ancient Near East, but in the form of her religious life Israel can be shown to have borrowed freely, or to have inherited much from the peoples in whose midst she was placed. It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate some of these antecedents which influenced Israel in her expression of the nature and the activity of the spirit of God.

I. LINGUISTIC ANTECEDENTS

The Akkadian word meaning "wind" or "breath" is *saru*, a word having no philological connection with the Hebrew *ruach*. Furthermore, as Hehn has pointed out, whereas in Hebrew *ruach* came to have the meaning of "spirit" in addition to "wind" and "breath," the same development is not found for the Akkadian *saru* which never came to bear the meaning of "spirit."[1]

---

[1] *Op*. *cit*., p. 213. "Es ist aber doch merkwürdig, wie das Akkadische und das Westsemitische in den Bezeichnungen fur 'geist' und 'Leben' völlig auseinandergehen. Das hebräisch-westsemitische *rūaḥ* hat im Akkadischen kein Aquivalent, sondern dieses hat für 'Wind' das Word *šāru*, das eines Stammes mit dem hebraischen סער und סערה 'sturm' ist. Wenn nun *šāru* auch die Funktionen des hebräischen *rūaḥ* erfullt, so weiss doch jeder, der den Gebrauch der beiden Wörter kennt, dass sie nur eine gewisse Strecke zusammengehen, aber gerade in der Bedeutung 'Geist' bleibt *šāru*, wie wir alsbald sehen werden, hinter *rūaḥ* zurück." Cf. also Carl Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1920), p. 263.

However, *rḥ* is attested in Ugaritic with the meaning "wind" and possibly once, in an uncertain reading, with the meaning "spirit" or "breath." One of these texts is from Aqhat III where Anat gives a description of her proposed treatment of Aqhat:

> I will make thee to beat him twice on the pate, (and a third time on the ears, to pour out his blood like a stream, like emission of seed, on to his knees his soul shall go forth like wind (tse km rh npsh) his ghost like a puff, like vapour from his nose, his ready courage from (his) nose, (but) I will surely revive him.[2]

The uncertain reading is in Aqhat I, where there is a description given by two messengers of their own elation at the possibility of bearing good tidings:

> (Then my) head had been lifted up, my spirit had come into my throat (/b_7a rḥ /bnp/ sy) like a puff, the breath of us both (like a vapour into my nose).[3]

Driver considers the word *rḥ* legible enough but the accompanying words are illegible making his conjectured reading uncertain in this passage. For the same text Gordon reads *rh* as "wind" in a reading similar to his own reading of Aqhat III above:

---

[2] G.R. Driver, editor, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), p. 57, Aqhat III, i, 22-27, repeated in lines 36-37. Cyrus H. Gordon, editor, *Ugaritic Literature* (Roma: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1949), p. 93, Aqhat III, lines 25 and 36, has the same reading, "like wind." There is also a conjectured reading of the same phrase in Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 61, line 43, and in Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 96, line 93.

[3] Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 61, Aqhat I ii 38-39.

> head [ ] ([ ]ḥ[ ] ɣ)
> Like a win[d] my [soul] Like a gust, my spirit
> [ ] arrive [ ][4]

Because a translation of "spirit" for *rh* is nowhere else attested in the Ras Shamra texts, and because the meaning of *šāru* in Akkadian during the same general period never advanced past that of "wind" or "breath," to that of "spirit," it seems preferable to choose Gordon's reading here as the best one for that which is at most an uncertain text.

This means, in summary, that *ruach* had its linguistic antecedents at Ugarit, but that the word was only used with the meaning of "wind" according to the evidence of the extant texts. As far as can be ascertained, Israel inherited the word from her Canaanite forbearers but only with the meaning of "wind" and little more. There is nothing in the Ras Shamra texts that would indicate that Israel received from the Canaanites anything like the meaning borne by the words "the spirit of God." There is evidence of ecstatic prophets both from Byblos and from Mari who are god-possessed,[5] but no text has been found that attributes this possession to the breath or the spirit of god.

---

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 96, Aqhat I ii 88.

[5] Cf. G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), pp. 96-97.

II. CONCEPTUAL ANTECEDENTS

Only Ugarit shows a linguistic antecedent to the ruach of the Old Testament. However, the fact that the same word is found in two consecutive cultures does not guarantee a similarity in concepts for the two cultures. Nor does the absence of a related word in either one of two contiguous cultures mean that the same concept cannot have been present in both cultures. Thus it is necessary to examine Ancient Near Eastern literatures for conceptual antecedents to the ruach elohim even if these concepts cannot be linked by linguistic parallels.

Two concepts can be found to have been present in the world into which Israel was born. The one is that of the divine wind, and the other, closely related to it, is that of the life-giving divine breath.

A. The Divine Wind

It is possible that for the ancients the wind was never considered a mere natural phenomenon but rather was closely scrutinized for omens, considered to be a special messenger from the divine world, a revelation of the will of the gods. Thus Esarhaddon can congratulate himself on his coronation day that he has been granted a south wind, an indication that the god Ea looks with favor on his kingship.[6] Likewise the wisdom teacher in Babylon can counsel his disciple to guarantee his own welfare by seeking to know the will of the gods as indicated by the wind rather than to trust in rogues:

> As for the rogue whose favour you seek,
> His . . . soon vanishes
> The godless cheat who has wealth,
> A death-dealing weapon pursues him.
> Unless you seek the will of the god, what luck
>   have you?
> He that bears his god's yoke never lacks food,
>   though it be sparse.
> Seek the kindly wind of the god
> (ša-a-ra ṭa-a-ba šailīmeš šite-'-e-ma)
> What you have lost over a year you will make up
>   in a moment.[7]

Although the wind may not have been considered a divinity in its own right in the role it played as illustrated by the preceding quotations, nevertheless it seems not inaccurate to speak of it as a divine wind for it functioned as an agent of the divine world. It is far more than a mere natural phenomenon.

---

[6] "auf den thron meines Vaters setze ich mich glüchlich, es wehte der südwind, die Offenbarung des Ea . . . der Wind, dessen Wehen der Ausübung der Konigsherrschaft günstig ist . . ." quoted by J. Hehn, "Zum Problem des Geistes in Alten Orient und im A.T.," *Zeitschrift für die Altestamentlische Wissenschaft*, 43(1925) p. 223.

[7] W.G. Lambert, "The Babylonian Wisdom Literature," quoted from the *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 84-85.

In the following example from the Baal cycle of Ugarit, the wind plays an unusual role, but its exact function, and therefore the matter of its divinization, is not clear. Baal is instructed to make his preparations for his journey to the underworld where he is to encounter Mot, the god of the underworld:

> and thou, take thou thy clouds and thy wind, thy bucket (and) thy rains, with thee, (qh 'rptk rḥk mdlk mtrtk [.] .'mk) thy seven servitors (and) thine eight boars, (take) Pidriya daughter of mist with thee (and) Taliya daughter of showers with thee.[8]

The fact that the list of things he is to take along includes personifications would seem to indicate that the whole group is to make up his entourage, which will assist him in his confrontation with Mot. They do not appear again, however, in the extant text. The text, therefore, is too indefinite to make any other conclusions than to say that here, because this is a mythological context, and because the wind is viewed as standing in a special relation to the god, Baal, available to him as his agent or companion, it can be said in a certain sense to be a divine wind. Again, it is much more than the natural wind.

---

[8] G.R. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 117. The reading of "wind" here is not absolutely certain, the ḥ of rḥk being indistinct but it is corroborated by Cyrus H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 41, who reads, "and thou, take thy clouds, thy wind, thy storm, thy rains . . ." and suggests in a footnote that these are Baal's symbols or insignia.

The most famous example of the divine wind, a context in which the function of the wind is portrayed quite specifically, is the text from the Akkadian creation epic relating Marduk's fight against Tiamat:

> The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might escape, the South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind. Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father, Anu. He brought forth Imhullu "the Evil Wind," the Whirlwind, the Hurricane, the Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth the seven of them. To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. . .[9]

> The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face. Then Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him, He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips. As the fierce winds charged her belly, Her body was distended and her mouth was wide open.[10]

> The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.[11]

The cosmogonic, mythical rather than historical, context, the evident personification, the specific functions attached to the different winds, and the singular role ascribed to wind, show that here there is described the divine wind, serving as the divine assistant to Marduk in his creation struggle with Tiamat, the dragon.

---

[9] James ~~B~~. Pritchard, editor, Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 66, Tablet IV, lines 42-48, translator, E. A. Speiser.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, lines 96-99.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, line 132.

Finally, Kurt Sethe has written about the Theban god Amon-re, who, as god of the moving air, was the supreme god in Egypt contemporary with the beginnings of the Yahwist religion in Palestine.[12]

In an Egyptian hymn expressing gratitude for a god's mercy is found the line:

---

[12] Kurt Sethe, Amun die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929), p. 120, writes: "Will man ernstlich im Sinne der Nöldekeschen Meinung an ägyptischen Ursprung der Jahwe-Religion oder ägyptischen Einfluss bei ihrer Entstehung denken, so lässt sich in der Tat wohl kein geeigneteres Vorbild dafür denken, als die Person des thebanischen Gottes Amon-re', der gerade in den Zeiten, die für die Entstehung der Jahwe-Religion in Betracht kämen, der höchste Gott bei den Ägyptern gewesen ist: seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach der Gott der bewegten Luft, der die Schöpfung beginnend mit dem Emporkommen der Sonne auslöste, dann mit dieser zusammengeflossen und schliesslich ein geistiges Wesen von universalster Macht, der Herrscher der gesamten Welt und überall sich in ihr manifestierend." And on p. 126 he writes: "Die Parallele zwischen Amun, dem schöpferischen Lufthauch über dem Urgewässer Nun, und dem hebraischen Jahwe also dem 'Hauch Gottes' über dem Wasser erscheint so stark ausgeprägt, dass, wenn für dies Gottesvorstellung ein ägyptisches Vorbild gesucht werden soll, nur an Amun gedacht werden kann." Cf. also p. 90 for a great number of quotations from Egyptian texts in which Amun is called the god of wind or breath (Lufthauch).

> As for his anger . . . in the completion of a moment there is no remnant, and the wind is turned about in mercy for us, and Amon has turned around with his breezes.[13]

In the Akkadian and Ugaritic epics the wind was not a god as such but can only be spoken of as divine in the sense that it was a special instrument used by Marduk or Baal in the cosmogonic struggle or functioned as a special messenger of the gods. But in Egypt the wind itself was the god, Amon-re. Here, in the world out of which Israel was called, was wind a divinity in its own right.

This is not to say, however, that wind was understood only as a divinity in the world outside of Israel. It only means that this conception also was present in the world in which Israel found her place.

B. The Divine, Life-giving Breath

Amun, the wind god, provides the transition to the second notion, well documented in the Ancient Near East, the idea that the breath of the god, not always clearly distinguished from the wind, is a life-giving and life-sustaining power pervading the universe and present in the nostrils of all creatures. Kurt Sethe has described the god Amun as invisible yet perceptible as the respiratory noise in the throats of living beings.[14] In a hymn to Amon-re it is said: "And thy candent breath is the source of life."[15] J. Hehn, who believes that this idea of the life-giving divine breath was originally developed in Egypt before spreading to other cultures in the Ancient Near East,[16] quotes a number of texts to show the prevalence of this concept in Egypt:[17]

---

[13] ANET, op. cit., pp. 380-381, translator, John A. Wilson.

> The king says to Amun: "Deine Farbe ist Licht, dein Atem ist Leben . . . dein Leib ist ein Windhauch in jeder Nase; man atmet durch dich, um zu Leben."[18]

---

[14] Ibid., p. 120, "Als Lufthauch dem Menschen unsichtbar, selbst während er die Kehle des Atmenden durchzieht, wird seine stimme gehört und die Wirkung seiner gewaltigen Kraft in der Natur, am Meer und an den Bäumen wahrgenommen."

[15] L. G. Leary, editor, From the Pyramids to Paul (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1935), p. 235.

[16] Op. cit., p. 216, as opposed to George Widengren, The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1937). pp. 5-8, who asserts that Babylon was the ultimate donor, and to Jepsen, op. cit., pp. 36-37, who argues for a joint derivation from Egypt and Babylon.

[17] Ibid., p. 216, "Eine Auswahl von Stellen aus der Fülle des materials des "Ägyptischen Wörterbuchs", das ich unter der freundlichen Beihilfe der Herren Dr. Grapow und Dr. Anthes einer Durchsicht unterziehen donnte, möge einen Einblick in diese Seite des religiösen Denkens der Ägypter gewähren."

[18] Loc. cit., quoted by Hehn from Karnak, Tempel Ramses III (unveröffentlicht).

> In praise of the Sun god it is said: "Lebenswind und glut kommen beide aus seiner nase."[19]

> Again the Sun god is addressed: "Indem unzählige Leben in dir sind, um sie zu beleben (mit) Lebensodem in ihrer Nase."[20]

> And in a speech by Horus to Osiris it is said: "Durch dich leben alle Menschen. Du bist der Wind, der ihn verleiht, wem er will."[21]

> Isis says, "Ich komme als Wind, ich komme, um dich zu schützen. Ich gebe Wind in deine Nase und den Nordwind, der aus Atum kommt. Ich bin selig im Himmel bei Re und stärk unter den Göttern."[22]

These examples from Hehn's sampling could be greatly multiplied, but will suffice to indicate that the wind, viewed as the breath of the god, and in Egypt applied to many of the deities, is an enlivening and sustaining power, present as life-breath in the nostrils of every living creature.

The life-bestowing breath of the gods was also known in Babylon. The Enuma Elish, the Akkadian creation epic, speaks in this way about Marduk:

---

[19] Loc. cit., quoted by Hehn from Hibis (Charge) Neues Urgötterlied. Abschrift Röder, Z. 26 (unveröffentlicht).

[20] Loc. cit., quoted by Hehn from Kleiner Sonnenhymnus. Tell Amarna. Culte d'Atonon, p. 89 (cf. p. 38) Z. 15-16.

[21] Ibid., p. 216-217, quoted by Hehn from Mar. Dend. II 39d.

[22] Ibid., p. 217, quoted by Hehn from Totenb. ed. Leps. 151c. Isis an der Mumie des Osiris.

> The god of the benign breath, the lord who hearkens and accedes; who produces riches and treasures, establishes abundance; who has turned all our wants to plenty; whose benign breath we smelled in sore distress.[23]

This quotation appears to indicate that when the creature is threatened by death, by a failure of breath, then Marduk furnishes his breath to the distressed supplicant. Hehn quotes a prayer addressed to Marduk: "Dein guter Hauch möge wehen und das Leben lang werden."[24] He also quotes the formula of an incantation priest: "der gute Hauch Enbilulu's (Marduk's) möge dir wehen."[25]

To sum up this section on conceptual antecedents, there is evidence[26] that there existed in the world into which Israel was born two related concepts which had bearing on

---

[23] ANET, op. cit., p. 66, Tablet VII, lines 20-23.

[24] Op. cit., pp. 213-214, quoted from Beiträge zur Assyriologie, Fünfter Band, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1906, pp. 359-360.

[25] Ibid., p. 214, quoted from Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts in Wissenschaftlische Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin (Leipzig, 1900). XXVIII 1915-1919, Ed. by E. Ebeling. 242 Vs. (?)19.

[26] For other relevant texts cf. ANET, op. cit., p. 484, Amarna Letters, No. 147, translator, W. F. Albright, and Paul Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé, Source de Vie Dans L'Ancien Testament," Revue Biblique, op. cit., p. 492 ff.

Israel's concept of the spirit. The one has to do with wind, intimately related to the world of the gods and serving as a messenger or divine assistant, and in some instances at least, considered to be an independent deity. The second closely related concept conceived of the wind as the breath of the gods which had creative and life-sustaining power and which dwelt in each creature as the breath of life, giving life and strength as long as it is granted to the creature.

Just what influence these concepts had on Israel's concept of the spirit of God, what relation they had to Israel's thought world, will be discussed after the relevant Biblical texts have been examined.

CHAPTER III

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE WORD FAMILY OF RUACH

Very few etymological conclusions can be derived from a study of the parentage of the Biblical word ruach. As was mentioned above, it is not found in Akkadian in any form. The verb is found in Old Arabic of the south meaning "to be large, spacious."[1] The Ugaritic tablets use the noun rḫ a few times, with the certain meaning of "wind" and possibly "breath" or "spirit." Lys suggests that the radical was originally used onomatopoetically to indicate the noise of breathing so that it suggested air in movement instead of space, and from this came the idea of being open to the air and finally spacious.[2] On the other hand, there is no evidence at all that the word originally had anything to do with breathing, but as shown above, that it was associated with the wind, and perhaps by a derived meaning, with that which is open to the wind and therefore large and spacious. It might be concluded then, working largely from conjecture, that from what little is known of the original word it has to do with the basic meaning of air in motion.

---

[1] Cf. Ludwig Koehler, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), p. 877.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

In regard to the Old Testament usage of words related to ruach as with the parentage of the word ruach, one is left with a narrow base that will not support an elaborate superstructure of conclusions. The verb רוח [3] is used three times in the qal form, in I Samuel 16:23 (twice), and in Job 32:20 in the sense of "getting relief" or "breathing freely" after being released from pent-up emotion or giving vent to something one wants very much to say. The pual participle is used in Jeremiah 22:14 to indicate a "spacious" palace, again possibly related to the idea of breathing freely because one is not confined to narrow quarters. The verb is used in the hiphil in the sense of "smelling an odor," whether it be actually Yahweh's smelling the odor of Noah's sacrifice in

---

[3] Cf. Koehler, loc. cit. F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 924-926, postulates two roots, one, רוח , with the meaning of "breathe, blow", from which they suppose there derived the word ruach, together with with the noun, ריח meaning "scent or odour," and its denominative ריח , meaning "to smell or perceive an odour; the other root is thought to have been the verb, רוח , meaning "to be wide, spacious," from which derived the nominal forms meaning "space, respite, relief." Judging from the fragmentary evidence provided by the earlier forms mentioned in the first paragraph above, it seems unnecessary to posit a separate root as BDB has done. For one thing, there is nothing to indicate that the original רוח ever had the meaning of "breath" or "breathing." And secondly, it does not imply a forced interpretation of wind to suppose that it came to include in its derived meaning both the verb "to breathe" and the verb "to be wide or spacious."

Genesis 8:21 or Isaac smelling Jacob's garments, Genesis 27:27, or indicating a psychological state such as the war horse "smelling the battle" in Job 39:25. There are a total of fourteen passages where a form of the verb רוח is used in the Old Testament.[4]

Of the nouns which have been derived from the verb רוח, one class is akin in meaning to the hiphil verb and means "scent or odor," as the smell of Jacob's garments (Gen. 27:27), or Israel's being "offensive" to Egypt (Ex. 5:21) or, often the pleasing (to God) odor of the sacrifices. The other group is similar in meaning to the qal form of the verb and can either mean a "space" or "interval" (Gen. 32:17), or "respite" or "relief" (Esther 4:14, Ex. 8:11). Only five times in the Old Testament are there found nouns belonging to this latter classification.[5]

What deductions can be made from a study of the word family of ruach? Three things could be stated which might indicate the nature of ruach as it was used concomitantly with other nouns or verbs in this word family, and influenced by the meaning of the word in pre-Israelite literature. First, the word in its many forms is used to describe, not a static, but a dynamic situation.[6] It does not speak of enclosed space but of room to breathe. The odor must be "given off," on the one hand, and must be inhaled to be perceived, on the other. And the wind can only be in motion. Second, it most frequently expresses not a description of a person or object as it is in itself, but rather as it is in relation to others, those outside itself. Thus it must be with a smell or a fragrance, which can be detected only through the act of inhaling, generally by a second person. Likewise when the word indicates release from an oppressive or confining situation, giving access to air or to the world, or when the word is used to indicate a space or interval between two things,[7] it has to do with a relation between objects or persons. Finally, to judge from the meaning assumed by the derivatives, the whole word family of ruach as used in the Old Testament seems to have developed its meaning predominately in the direction of "breath" rather than "wind." Odor or smelling have to do with breathing through the nose, of course, and the sense of relief implied both by the verbs used in the qal and the related nouns is concerned more with being able to breathe freely than being exposed to the air. The meaning has turned almost entirely in the direction of breath and away from that of wind.

---

[4] Namely, in addition to those mentioned above, Judges 16:9, I Samuel 26: 19, Exodus 30:38, Leviticus 26:31, Amos 5:21, Deuteronomy 4:28, and Psalm 115:6. Isaiah 11:3 should be deleted due to dittography.

[5] Namely, in addition to those described, Lamentations 3:56 and Psalm 66:12. There are a total of 43 passages using the technical term, "odor of sweet" sacrifices, predominately in the Priestly source.

---

[6] Ibid., p. 20. Lys emphasizes this in relation to the first two qal verbs mentioned. He also concludes that the fundamental meaning is that of air in movement in space (p. 23), which is the dynamic aspect of air.

[7] Ibid., p. 23. Lys, in line with the basic thesis of his book, writes that nephesh means the interior organ of respiration while ruach has to do more with the air breathed in or out, and so in this way ruach basically expresses a relation.

What implication this bears for the development of ruach and, more particularly, for the meaning of the spirit of God in the Old Testament can only be ascertained after beginning the study of ruach itself. It is very possible, of course, that the word ruach itself might have developed meanings in an entirely different direction from the few cognate terms belonging to the word family of ruach. This is particularly true in the case of ruach, the development of whose meanings must have been greatly influenced by the fact that it became a sort of technicus terminus for expressing the activity of Yahweh. Subsequent meanings of ruach seem to have been developed as a result of this special usage, e.g., ruach meaning human breath and later again, the human spirit. If the word family of ruach, apart from the word ruach itself, developed different and unrelated meanings, it was due to the fact that the influences brought to bear on the word ruach were not present in the case of the cognate terms, which is to say that the meaning of cognate terms which had a development parallel with the development in meaning of the word ruach can not be decisive in determining the meaning of the word ruach, but may be of value in indicating the direction in which the word ruach developed.

CHAPTER IV

A SURVEY OF RELATED MEANINGS OF THE WORD RUACH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

As a glance at any Hebrew lexicon will soon make evident, the word ruach bears many meanings in the Old Testament, and as a consequence it is associated with many different realms of existence. It is necessary at this point to describe the various areas of meaning of this word other than the meaning "the spirit of God," in order to make it possible to mark off clearly by elimination the boundaries of that meaning of ruach which is the subject of this enquiry, namely, the spirit of God.

I. THE RUACH AS WIND

"Wind" is one of the meanings of ruach in the Old Testament. It has been shown above that there existed in the world surrounding Israel a conception of the wind which in some instances made of it a divine assistant, serving in a special relationship to the divine world in communicating the divine will to man, or functioning in a singular role in mythological combat; other texts show it as a divinity in its own right, personified, bearing its own divine name, and active throughout the whole created world.

This aspect of wind is never found in the Old Testament literature. The wind, which always keeps its nominal identification with ruach, is increasingly separated from the realm of Yahweh's saving activity (but not from his control) and comes to be considered only a created element, a phenomenon present in the natural world, and finally by nature of its intangibility and indiscernibleness, a symbol of futility and emptiness. On the other hand, it will be shown below how Israel, under the influence of her covenant faith, while retaining for the wind the natural functions belonging to it, has transferred to the spirit of God those special functions which her neighbors had attributed to the wind.

Certain criteria are necessary in order to distinguish ruach as wind from other ruach categories in the Old Testament.[1] First, it is the phenomenon characterized by the movement of air and present and evident in the natural world.[2]

---

[1] The limited nature of these criteria should be noted. They cannot be used to define ruach when it has reference to the spirit of God. Such a definition, which is in effect a set of criteria, will be found in the Conclusion as the end result of this study. The criteria listed above can only be used to determine when ruach means wind but cannot be used to determine other meanings of ruach. A set of criteria for determining when ruach means the ruach in man, as distinguished from wind and the spirit of God, will be found below.

[2] That the wind is a created element is stated explicitly only in Amos 4:13, perhaps implicitly in Ps. 148:5-8.

In this sense it can be called an east wind, Jeremiah 18:17; a north wind, Proverbs 25:23; a hot wind, Jeremiah 4:11; a sultry wind, Jonah 4:8; a stormy wind, Ezekiel 1:4; the four winds, Zechariah 6:5, etc. Second, the effects of its activity are evident only in the exterior, natural world. This is to say, if a text speaks about a ruach whose effects are evident within a man, it is not speaking about the wind, for the action of the wind on a man can only be external. These two criteria have been employed in this study to determine whether ruach means wind, or something other than wind.[3] Both elements are not necessarily evident in every text, that is, not specifically mentioned. But not to be in evidence does not mean not present. If it can be shown that either element is not present, then it should be questioned whether the ruach which appears in that passage is really the wind.

Even in the earliest passages, the historical literature which dates from before the period of the writing prophets and which stands nearest in time to the Egyptian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic texts quoted above, the wind is never divine. In II Samuel 22:11, the wind is only Yahweh's vehicle, the major role being played by Yahweh himself and his spirit, viewed metaphorically as breath, verse 16.[4] In this text with its salvation context and its imagery of the waters, recalling the cosmogonic myth of the combat of the divine winds against the primeval waters, we might expect the divine wind to appear if it were to appear anywhere in the Old Testament. But the wind is relegated to a minor role and functions only in the way it would in the natural realm. No other properties are assigned to it than that which could be expected of the created wind, which has the capability of transporting objects. It is by means of the ruach, his spirit, that Yahweh enters into combat against the sea.

---

[3] A list of the texts in which ruach means wind is given in the appendix.

In another early text where one could expect the appearance of the divine wind, it is the spirit of Yahweh, again described metaphorically as his breath, which divides the sea, Exodus 15:8,10.[5] Even in Exodus 14:21b it is Yahweh who drives back the water, to be sure, with the assistance of a strong east wind. But here the wind is nothing more than a natural element. (And anticipating a later period, it can be pointed out that in v. 21a the Priestly writer has eliminated the wind in favor of Moses' hand, while Psalm 136:13 and Isaiah 63:12 attribute it all to Yahweh with the wind given no place.[6]) Thus even in Israel's earliest period, in passages whose context most readily lends itself to the appearance of a divine wind, it is only the natural wind which is described, acting as the servant of Yahweh, aiding him in his salvation deeds performed in history. The location of these salvations acts in history and not in the mythological realm, and the assigning to the wind a purely natural function, has removed the wind from the realm of myth and divinization, and emphasizes Israel's attempt to transfer to the spirit of God those functions which in the world about her had been attributed to the divine wind.

---

[4] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 31. The writer owes the content of much of this chapter to Lys; cf. especially pp. 337-341 for an excellent summary of the wind in the Old Testament.

[5] Exodus 15:8,10, has been classified under spirit of God, as has II Samuel 22:11, see below, Chapter V, Section I. For Lys' explanation of this text (Exodus 15:8,10), cf. pp. 99-101. He assigns this passage to the Deuteronomic Historian.

In other texts from this early period the wind functions as a natural element in the service of Yahweh as he performs his salvation acts. Exodūs 10:13 describes how Yahweh in the act of bringing his people out of Egypt brought locusts on the land of Egypt by means of an east wind. In the same way the locusts were removed by a west wind, v. 19. By means of a wind Yahweh brings quails for the sustenance of Israel in the wilderness, Numbers 11:31. Yahweh breaks the three year drought in Samaria by a great rain preceded by clouds and wind, I Kings 18:45.

---

[6] Cf. Lys, loc. cit.

I Kings 19:11 especially points up the distinction between Yahweh and the wind. Elijah is granted a "theophany" in the still, small voice, but the Lord is not in the wind which precedes it. And II Kings 3:17 shows that Yahweh can bring water without using the wind. In the above passages the wind functions only as a natural element. Finally, the only text from this period which has wind as a purely natural element, objectively observed and not directly functioning as an instrument of God in a salvation context, is Genesis 3:8, where the daily breeze marks the time of God's coming to Adam and Eve.

It might be helpful at this point, before proceeding on to the prophetic period and by way of a summary of the texts using wind in the early period, to review the observations made thus far concerning the wind and to point up the purpose of this chapter. It was felt necessary to define the wind, its nature and its functions, as it appears in the Old Testament, in order to distinguish it from the spirit of God. Admittedly, in this period there are points of similarity between the wind and the spirit of God in several of their functions. Both appear in a salvation context and both function as a special agent or instrument of the divine power. But just at the point where the wind has lost any suggestion of divinization it can be distinguished from the spirit of God. The wind is only a natural element, viewed as a phenomenon of the natural world, and functioning, in all of the texts examined above, in no way different from what can be expected of the natural wind. That this is not true, however, of the spirit of God will be seen in the study of the spirit of God below. Finally, that the wind is used in this period as a special agent under the control of Yahweh in no way diminishes the fact of its "naturalization." The wind in this period is a created element present in the natural world, the effects of whose activity are visibly evident only in the exterior, natural world.

From the time of the classical prophets and on through the rest of Old Testament literature the wind assumes a quite different cast, which suggests that the early period was still somewhat under the influence of that environment described above in Chapter II. Now, with the exception of one passage in the Priestly source, Genesis 8:1, the wind is never again the instrument of God in a salvation context. From this time on it appears in four different roles: a figure of speech representing punishment; a metaphor for emptiness or "windiness"; an indicator of direction; the natural wind objectively observed.

It will not be necessary to review each of the more than 100 passages using wind and dating from 750 B.C. to the end of the Old Testament period, for they have a remarkable sameness within the four classifications mentioned above. But some representative texts can be mentioned by way of illustration.

Amos 4:13 shows the wind to be a created natural element: "he who forms the mountains and creates the wind." Hosea's quotation of the proverbial "they sow the wind and they shall reap the whirlwind" uses wind as a metaphor for emptiness or futility. Jeremiah uses wind largely as a figure of speech representing God's punishing power, typified well by 18:17: "Like the east wind I will scatter them before the enemy." Ezekiel 1:4 distinguishes the wind from the spirit in v. 12 by the use of different genders and by the use of the article in the latter. The wind accompanies the theophany which Ezekiel witnesses, but this is a theophany of judgment, for Yahweh is departing from the holy city. Ezekiel, however, uses the wind elsewhere either as a metaphor for divine punishment, e.g. 13:13, or to indicate direction, e.g. 42:16. The Priestly source uses wind once, in Gen. 8:1. But here the writer is careful to distinguish the purely natural drying function of the wind from the action of Yahweh himself described in v. 2.[7] The wind is only a natural element. Psalm 104 uses ruach as wind, v. 3,4, as the breath of the creature, v. 29, and as the spirit of God, v. 30. Verse 4, "who makest the winds thy messengers," might but for the use of the plural be hard to distinguish from the spirit of God. The Wisdom literature uses wind largely with the meaning of futility, windiness, or emptiness. Thus Proverbs 11:29 states: "He who troubles his household will inherit wind." Job 8:2 says, "How long will you say these things, and the words of your mouth be a great wind?"; true to its nature, however, as Wisdom literature, Job can observe and comment on the natural world as in Job 28:25, "When he gave to the wind its weight. . ." Finally, Ecclesiastes expresses the ultimate in the demotion of the wind with its refrain, "all is vanity and a striving after wind," a figure of the vanity of human existence. Wind thus described in the prophets and later cannot be mistaken for the spirit of God which experiences just the opposite sort of development, to become the central and unique instrument of God's activity.

To sum up this brief sketch, _ruach_ as the wind is never presented as a divinity, even in the oldest texts of the Old Testament, but is already a natural element created by God.

---

[7] Cf. Lys, _ibid_., pp. 174-176.

The mythological allusions have been historicized, the wind has been displaced in its primary role by Yahweh himself, or by the "breath" or the "spirit" of Yahweh. It can still function as an instrument of Yahweh's activity, but in the later portions of the Old Testament it loses even this position in order to be used as a figure of speech for Yahweh's chastisement, for the futility and stupidity of a man who would stand in pride before God, for the vanity of human existence lived without God, and finally to be used for orientation and to be viewed as a purely natural phenomenon which can be studied and observed objectively.

What conclusions can then be drawn that will assist in defining and describing the spirit of God? First, although the divine wind, even the *rḥ* at Ugarit, furnished the background for the spirit of God as it appears in the Old Testament, yet because even the oldest texts distinguish God and the wind, or, again, the breath of God and wind, it is clear that by the time Israel was established in Palestine a bifurcation had already taken place. The wind becomes only the natural wind. It does not serve to communicate the divine will (I Kings 19:11 made this clear). No longer is it the special agent in the creation act, for not only is it eliminated from any role in the creative act[8] but the wind itself is considered to be a created element. It does not have a life-giving function, bringing the breath into every nostril.[9] It is not the unique instrument of the divine power active in the world. Finally, it cannot communicate the divine presence. These functions, attributed at least to a certain degree to the divine wind in Ancient Near Eastern texts, are in the course of the development of the concept of the spirit of God in the Old Testament gradually to be attributed to God's spirit. This means that after one has separated the contexts which speak of ruach as the wind, they will no longer enter into account in the study of the spirit of God because they deal with an area of existence quite separate from the spirit of God. But having established this, it remains to be said, secondly, that ruach as wind is not equivalent to "air" but rather "air in motion," for usually when ruach is used of the wind, it indicates strong, powerful wind rather than a soft breeze.[10] So in the study of the spirit of God itself, this same characteristic will be found to be present in the spirit, because this represents the mutual heritage of both wind and spirit. To have been distinguished from one another does not imply complete dissimilarity. Finally, the incorporeal nature of the wind, the impossibility of laying hold on it, its power, its mobility, its invisibility, and its action at a distance make it supremely suitable for use as a figure of speech, a simile or a metaphor, to describe the action of the spirit of God. Its employment in this way, not only in the Old Testament but also in the New Testament and up to the present day, needs no documentation. The description of the action of the wind thus provides many valuable clues towards describing the way that Israel viewed the action and nature of the spirit of God.

---

[8] For Genesis 1:2, see Chapter VII.

---

[9] The one Old Testament text which has at least a suggestion of this old idea is Ezekiel 37:9, "Come from the four winds, o breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." Just why the breath should come from the four winds is not clear, for in verses 5,6, it is said to be Yahweh who will cause the breath to enter the dead bones. So "the four winds" does not indicate an agent or even the source from which the breath comes. It only shows direction from which the breath comes. There is nothing in Ezekiel or even in the Old Testament which could substantiate an interpretation of the wind here as the agent or the source of the enlivening breath. A possible explanation is that just as Yahweh has scattered the corporate life of the house of Israel to the four winds, Ezekiel 5:10,12; 12:14; 17:21, so the life which he will renew for them, represented by the breath, will be gathered again from the four winds to be returned to the house of Israel, which is as yet only dead bones, Ezekiel 37:11.

II. THE RUACH IN MAN

A detailed study of the ruach in man actually lies outside the bounds of this thesis, which is concerned with a study of the spirit of God. However, in order to study the spirit of God it is necessary first to separate the texts which speak of the ruach in man from those which speak of the spirit (ruach) of God. The reason for a separate consideration of the ruach in man, and the criteria used in distinguishing these texts will be stated. The full listing of texts which speak of the ruach of man, and texts which it is assumed will have been separated by means of these criteria from other texts using ruach, will be found in the appendix. Secondly, in the course of a study of the passages using ruach of man, there will be developed a statement of the meaning or meanings appertaining to the ruach of man as it is used in the Old Testament. By comparing these with the concept of the spirit of God, either by contrast or by relation, light may be thrown on the nature and function of the spirit of God as it appears in the Old Testament.

---

[10] Norman Snaith, Amos, Hosea and Micah (London: Epworth, 1956), p. 90.

A. Evidence Towards a Separate Classification of Ruach in Man

There are indications that the Hebrews distinguished man's ruach from the spirit of God in their thinking and in their writing. Judges 15:19 uses ruach in the sense of the vitality always present in living creatures. Samson's vitality was greatly diminished because he was thirsty, but when he drank "his spirit returned," i.e., his vitality returned. No one would confuse this ruach, however, with the ruach, the spirit of the Lord, which came mightily upon Samson in 14:19, or 15:14. The latter spirit is something new, something which has not hitherto been present with Samson. But his ruach, his vitality, is with him or in him as long as he is alive. The original writer, as well as popular thought, even at this early period made a distinction between the two, the one a permanent element in the human being, the other only appearing fitfully in him at certain designated periods in his manhood. Isaiah 42:5 speaks of the creation of the ruach of man, as does also Isaiah 57:16, Zechariah 12:1, Malachi 2:15, but the same author, Isaiah, describes the spirit of God as active in the creative act, 40:13, so obviously considering this latter ruach a non-created element. Finally, there are words used to modify the spirit of man which could, by their nature, never be applied to God or his spirit, e.g., "contrite and humble" spirit, Isaiah 57:15, or 66:2; "crushed in spirit," Psalm 34:18; a spirit of "supplication," Zechariah 12:10, etc.

The distinction between the spirit of God and the spirit of man is not, judging from the above examples, a modern distinction read back into the Biblical accounts; or, stated conversely, the Israelites did not look on ruach as an undifferentiated element, now present in man, now used by God in his activity. Instead, they conceived of the spirit in man as separate and distinct from the spirit of God, so that an attempt to separate the Biblical texts speaking of man's ruach from those containing the spirit of God, and treating them as a separate classification, is not out of keeping with the nature of Old Testament thought.

B. Criteria for Distinguishing the Ruach of Man from the Spirit of God

There do not appear to be texts in which the ruach as wind is confused in meaning with the ruach in man or in which it is difficult to decide whether ruach means wind or the ruach in man. Therefore, the criteria in this section will only apply to the distinction between the ruach in man, the human ruach, and the spirit of God.

Basically, there seem to be only two criteria by which one can distinguish the ruach in man. The first states that when a text speaks of a ruach which belongs to or appertains to the creature, it is the ruach of man (or the creature) which is meant rather than the spirit of God. Thus when Ezekiel speaks of "my spirit," 3:14, it can be understood that he is speaking of the ruach of man. This of course is not to be interpreted as a denial of the fact that God is the author and the source of man's ruach.[11] Man's ruach comes from God but it is intended for man, having to do with the creature and not the creator. The second criterion states that any ruach that is a permanent and integral part of the creature's physical and the man's psychical, intellectual, or spiritual life, whose permanent absence would make him less than a normal creature, is the ruach of man (or of the creature). That is to say, it is not, like the spirit of God, given to him on certain occasions, or granted to him as an unusual or out-of-the ordinary occurrence, but rather it is inherent in his nature as a creature to possess a ruach. Although I Kings 10:5 can say of the queen of the south that "there was no more ruach in her," the implication is that normally, as a living being, she has ruach and the ruach must return to her if she is not to die (thus also Samson, Judges 15:19, or Psalm 104:29). And likewise, to say of the idols that there is no ruach in them (Jeremiah 10:14) is to say that they are not alive, but are only dead objects. They are less than a creature, and even less a divinity.

---

[11] See preceding page for texts which state that God is the creator of man's ruach.

C. Survey of Texts Using Ruach of Man

The earliest meaning of ruach in man is that of vitality or life energy.[12] It means more than "life," a meaning borne by the synonymous word nephesh, for the ruach can depart from a person, leaving him weak and without strength, perhaps in a faint, but not dead.[13] He revives when the ruach returns. For example, when the queen of Sheba had seen all the glory of Solomon's court, "there was no more spirit in her," I Kings 10:5. After slaying a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass Samson was very thirsty, so much so that he feared that he would die of thirst. But after quenching his thirst with the water divinely provided," his spirit returned and he revived," Judges 15:19. A similar meaning is found in the case of Jacob, Genesis 45:27, concerned about Joseph's survival, and in the case of the Egyptian brought into David's presence, I Samuel 30:12. Perhaps the word ruach in this sense also had the more positive meaning which is expressed today by the word "drive,"[14] which existed in varying degrees in different people, suggested by the passage, II Kings 2:9-15. Elisha asks to become the spiritual heir of his master, "I pray you, let me inherit a double share of your spirit," (cf. Deuteronomy

---

[12] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit (New York: Harper Brothers, 1938), p. 12: "take the word simply as meaning energy, for this is all that it does mean, as applied to man, before the exile."

---

[13] Cf. Norman Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament (London: Epworth, 1944), p. 146, who says that ruach is used "to denote the dominant impulse or disposition of an individual." Cf. also p. 148, where he says that nephesh means "that which makes the difference between the living and the dead."

[14] Cf. Loc. cit.

21:17, where the law states that the rightful heir is to get a double portion of the property as over against the other children). The fact that his wish was granted was evident to the sons of the prophets when they saw him part the waters of the Jordan by striking them with Elijah's mantle, verses 14,15. A power which had been in Elijah before his translation, now had been transmitted to Elisha. The question might be asked whether this is not the spirit of God present first in Elijah, then in Elisha. But there is nothing in the text which would give evidence that this power was attributed to the spirit of God. The spirit of God is mentioned in verse 16 of the same chapter but with a quite different meaning, acting on Elijah and not in him, and not related in any way to Elisha. So it cannot be assumed that the sons of the prophets considered this ruach, which now has passed from Elijah to Elisha, to be the spirit of God. If it is considered to be an increase in the ruach energy already present in Elisha, then judged on the basis of the two criteria given above, it can be thought to be man's ruach, remembering always that the source and author of the ruach in man is of course Yahweh himself.

The same meaning of vital energy or strength to act is also found in Joshua 2:11 and 5:1. In these passages it is related that there was no ruach left in the inhabitants of

Jericho and the kings of the Amorites, respectively, when they heard reports of the approach of the Israelites. In Ezekiel 21:7, Ezekiel is commanded to say to Israel that at the news that Yahweh's sword is turned against his own people, "every heart will melt and all hands will be feeble, every spirit (ruach) will faint and all knees will be weak as water," a superb metaphorical description of failure of strength, a paralysis of the power to act. Finally, this meaning of ruach is found in the phrase used frequently "the Lord stirred up the spirit. . ." of the king of the Medes in Jeremiah 51:11, Zerubbabel in Haggai 1:14, Cyrus in Ezra 1:1, etc. It represents an increase in vital energy, granted by Yahweh for the accomplishment of a mission, and shows that this basic meaning of ruach in man, although not frequently attested in any period, persisted into the later strata of the Old Testament.

In the course of time, ruach in man came to have a meaning, that of "breath," probably because vitality or energy could be visualized in the breathing rate. This meaning of ruach in man, however, is largely an exilic or post-exilic phenomenon, for it appears in pre-exilic texts only in Genesis

7:22 and in Isaiah 11:4.[15] In the former text, "everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life (נשמת רוח חיים)," the fact that *neshamah* is joined to *ruach* establishes the meaning of "breath" rather than energy or vitality, for *neshamah* never has the latter meaning in the Old Testament.[16] The latter text, describing the Messianic ruler, "he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath (*ruach*) of his lips he shall slay the wicked," establishes the meaning of breath by the mention of the lips. Other passages which use *ruach* in man parallel with *neshamah* are Isaiah 42:5, 57:16, and Job 27:3. Many other passages using ruach are commonly translated by "breath," for example, Genesis 6:17, 7:15, or Ezekiel 37:5, 6,8,9,10, but there is no sure way of ascertaining whether "breath" or "vitality" should be the meaning given. There probably was no strict distinction made between the two meanings in the minds of the later Old Testament writers, for the breath was considered to be the visual manifestation of the vitality.

---

[15] Lys, *op. cit*., p. 59, says Genesis 7:22 marks the time when *ruach* came to mean "breath" in man and holds that this passage is a redaction to the Yahwist source dating from the eighth century. A common view is that the meaning of "breath" in man did not appear until the exile, cf. H. W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 75, and Koch, *op. cit*., p. 15, footnote #30.

[16] Cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, *op. cit*., p. 675.

The third meaning of the ruach in man leads into the realm of the psychical or the spiritual. Ruach as "vitality" or "breath" is attributed to the whole animal world, cf. Genesis 7:22, Ecclesiastes 3:19. However, at the third level of meaning man is separated from the animal world, for ruach comes to mean "disposition," the emotional life, his will and his spiritual life, often used parallel with "heart." Contrary to what is often stated,[17] passages using ruach with this meaning are attested in the pre-exilic period and quite early in this period. Even though it is used of the collective men of Ephraim, nevertheless, ruach represents their indignation expressed towards Gideon because he had not summoned them to participate in the battle against Midian: "Then their anger (ruach) against him was abated, when he had said this," that is, when he had given them a reasonable explanation, Judges 8:3. In I Kings 21:5, Jezebel addresses Ahab, to ask him, "why is your spirit so vexed that you eat no food?" indicating that Ahab was sullen or resentful in spirit because Naboth had refused to give him his vineyard.[18]

---

[17] Lys, op. cit., p. 103, finds only one pre-exilic text with this meaning, Deuteronomy 2:30, but says that the idea is not taken up again until Ezekiel, cf. his excellent summary on pp. 348-359. Cf. also, H. W. Robinson, Inspiration, op. cit., p. 75, "in no pre-exilic instance do we find ruach used of human breath or with psychical predicates." Or again in his Hebrew Psychology, op. cit., p. 360, "ruach is used psychically . . . as the permanent substratum or entity of man's own consciousness with varied psychical predicates--like nephesh, in fact, though with a range less wide. Now, out of the 74 instances which belong to this group, there is no clear or well-supported example in pre-exilic usage."

Genesis 41:38 also illustrates this meaning of ruach. After Pharaoh had dreamed his dream of the coming famine, "in the morning his spirit was troubled." Deuteronomy 2:30 gives spirit more the meaning of "will": Moses says about the king of Sihon that "the Lord your God hardened his spirit and made his heart obstinate." The book of Proverbs most vividly illustrates this use of ruach with its "trustworthy in spirit," 11:13, "haughty spirit," 16:18, "lowly spirit," 16:19, "downcast spirit," 17:22, "cool spirit," 17:27, to name a few.

To summarize, it has been shown that ruach as applied to man appears in the Old Testament with three distinct connotations: first, general vitality or energy in the creature;

---

[18] Lys, op. cit., p. 35, interprets this text as meaning that Ahab lacks vitality because he has gone without food. The text, however, seems to indicate that Ahab is not eating because he is sulking, and not vice versa.

second, in a meaning infrequently attested before the exile and certainly not found in the earliest texts, the meaning of breath; finally, the meaning of *ruach* as mood or disposition, temper, will, and even mind as in Ezekiel 11:5, a meaning found in all periods but especially used with great frequency in exilic and post-exilic texts.

D. Passages Difficult of Classification

There remain to be considered a number of texts using *ruach* which appear to belong in this section, that is, referring to the *ruach* in man, but whose classification cannot be decided alone by the use of the two criteria mentioned at the beginning of this section. These texts are Genesis 6:3, Job 27:3, Hosea 4:12 and 5:4, Isaiah 19:14, 28:6, and 29:10, Numbers 5:14, and Zechariah 12:10.

Genesis 6:3. The text reads, "then the Lord said, 'My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh, but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.'" (לא ידון רוחי באדם לעלם בשגם הוא בשר). The perplexing problem concerning the *ruach* in this verse is the dual fact that it is called *ruchi*, the spirit of Yahweh, but on the other hand, if the RSV translation is accepted, it is said to be in man for the duration of his lifetime. If it is admitted that the *ruach* spoken of here is the spirit of God, the singular and unique agent of God which in distinction from the *ruach* in man has been made the subject of this study, then it must either be conceded that here (and also in Job 27:3) there is an exception to the assertion made above that the Old Testament writers made a distinction between the spirit of God and the spirit, the *ruach* in man, that they did not consider them identical; or else, such a distinction must be relinquished altogether in favor of a general *ruach* substance now thought of as present in man as an inherent part of his nature, then again considered to be under the control of Yahweh and functioning as his own spirit. But perhaps yet another explanation is possible.

First of all, it is necessary to look at the text. Two words in particular have presented many difficulties, the word, *yadwn*, and the word, *beshagam*. In regard to the former, no root *dwn* is known in the Hebrew language, nor are any other forms of the verb *dwn*.[19] The RSV translation is based on the Septuagint which read καταμείνῃ, supported by the Targum Onkelos and the Peshitto. But there is no evidence that this was anything but a guess on the part of the Greek translators unless their Hebrew manuscript read ידור or ילון.[20]

---

[19] Cf. BDB, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[20] Cf. Snaith, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Genesis I-VIII* (London: Epworth Press, 1947), p. 44.

for which there is no evidence. Symmachus and Targum Jonathan have κρινεῖ, "judge," meaning that they read ידון as deriving from דין, "but the etymology is doubtful, since that root shows no trace of med. _waw_ in Heb."[21] If it could be established that the meaning here is "judge," a solution to the difficulty mentioned above would be found, for then it could be determined with no seeming contradiction that the _ruach_ is Yahweh's spirit, no mention being made of the _ruach_ in man. This solution, however, founders on the fact that the translation of "judge" has received little support from modern commentators and has been "practically abandoned."[22] So what is left is the meaning "abide, dwell," as the only live possibility.[23]

The translation of the unusual בשגם הוא בשר need not be argued here, for whether it is translated "in that he also is flesh" with the Septuagint, or "by their erring he is flesh" with some minor mss., the basic meaning of רוחי is not affected.

---

[21] John Skinner, _Genesis_ (New York: Scribners, 1917), p. 143. For a full account of possible roots for this word, cf. _loc_. _cit_.

[22] So Skinner, _ibid_., p. 144.

[23] Cf. S. R. Driver, _The Book of Genesis_ (New York: Gorham, 1904), p. 84, Snaith, _op_. _cit_., p. 44, Skinner, _op_. _cit_., p. 144, and Brevard Childs, _Myth and Reality in the Old Testament_ (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 50. For this interpretation as based on the Akkadian _dinanu_ see E. A. Speiser, _Genesis_ (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 44.

As the passage now stands,[24] verses 1-2 can only mean that cohabitation between the daughters of men and the sons of God is considered a sin, perhaps because it is a violation of the boundaries separating the divine from the human realms, or perhaps because it represents the intrusion of sin from the realm of men into the heavenly realms, represented by the sons of God.[25] Just why the human realm should receive the punishment when the initiative seems to have been taken by the sons of God is not clear. It is possible that the editor considered it to be the climax of man's rebellion against his creator, a process which was started in Genesis 3 and which now reaches its culmination before the flood in the fact that sin has even invaded the heavenly realms.[26] But Yahweh has determined on the punishment which is to fall on mankind, which will consist of the limiting of man's life to 120 years, a life which previously had been much longer (Genesis 5). The writer is thus also explaining why human life has become much shorter than it was stated to be originally.

---

[24] This is not to deny that the myth used here by the Biblical writer, in its pre-Biblical form, may have referred to a *ruach* element common to both the divine and the human realms, and a resulting apotheosis of the human realm. But the purpose of the Biblical writer was to deny to the human realm just such a deification. Cf. Childs, *ibid*., p. 56, "The essence of the myth was to assert that the divine spirit of the gods could be transmitted on the material-physical plane. In the mythical concept of reality, there is no qualitative distinction between the divine and the human. The Hebrew faith denied this categorically. By relating the *rûah* solely to the control of Yahweh (*rûhî*), Israel confessed that this spirit remained the unique possession of Yahweh which he could withdraw at any time." Note that this thesis, however, classifies the spirit here as man's spirit, even though it remains in possession of Yahweh, its creator.

[25] Cf. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), Vol. I, p. 158, "Through the mingling of the Elohim with human kind . . . Divine life had mingled with human, and this could only lead to a demonic race of supermen which contradicted creation, and which Jahweh initially countered by limiting the span of life."

Now if the phrase "my spirit shall not abide in man forever" indicates the shortening of man's lives, then "my spirit" must have reference to the ruach in man described above in this chapter, meaning vitality or life energy whose permanent removal can only mean death.[27] But if this is the permanent and integral part of the life of man, in what sense can it be called Yahweh's spirit? Could it not be in the same sense found in Numbers 27:16 (and also 16:22) where the writer speaks of Yahweh as "the God of the spirits of all flesh," that is, meaning that Yahweh is the source and creator of the human spirit? As the creator of man's spirit, the vital principle within the creature, Yahweh is frequently referred to as its author and source, Isaiah 42:5, 57:16, Ezekiel 37:5, Zechariah 12:1, Malachi 2:15, Ecclesiastes 12:7, and it is within his power as creator to recall at any time the life which has granted to man, Job 12:10, Psalm 104:29, Ecclesiastes 12:7. It is with this meaning, in the sense of possession, by right of creation, that the writer can refer to the *ruach* in man as Yahweh's *ruach*. He is not making reference to Yahweh's spirit,[28] that singular and unique manifestation of God's power active on behalf of God in his creation, but rather he is referring to the spirit in man, man's spirit.

---

[26] So von Rad, Genesis (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 112.

[27] Cf. von Rad, ibid., p. 110: "Ruach ('spirit') is not a charisma, i.e. an additional gift of the spirit, as it is in predominant Old Testament usage, but rather the habitual life principle in man (so too Ps. 104:29)."

Ruach in Genesis 6:3, in conclusion, is the *ruach* appertaining to man, an integral and permanent part of his creature life, whose permanent absence would mean his death. The unique spirit of God, as it is the subject of this thesis, is not mentioned in this passage.

---

[28] Cf. D. Otto Procksch, *Die Genesis* (Leipsiz: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), p. 60, רוּחַ ist das Lebensprinzip (cf. 6,17P), hier das im Menschen waltende . . . Ursprünglich mag רוּחַ der göttliche Stoff sein, der sich mit בָּשָׂר zu dem Körper der Heroen verbindet . . . aber J had diese Auffassung zerstört, indem er lediglich von Jahves רוּחַ spricht." Likewise, cf. Justin Köberle, "Gottesgeist und Menschengeist im AT" *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 13(1902), p. 425, "Die Kraft, die das Leben des Menschen bedingt und im Gange hält, ist göttlichen Ursprungs,--weiter steht nichts da; und ob dies ruah aus einer göttlichen ruah oder aus Gott selbst emaniert oder nicht emaniert sei, ist mit Hilfe der Alttestamentlichen Stellen nicht näher zu bestimmen, weil nirgends auf diese Frage Antwort gegeben werden will."

If this interpretation can be accepted, then the interpretation of Job 27:3 can also be established. Job says, "as long as my breath is in me and the spirit of God is in my nostrils" he will not speak a falsehood. In other words, he says, "as long as I am alive." In the same sense in which it was stated in Genesis 6:3, Job says that the breath (neshamah) in himself, identified with his own ruach, is a gift from God, the creator and source of the spirits of all men. This passage, too, has reference only to the ruach in man.

Hosea 4:12. "my people inquire of a thing of wood, and their staff gives them oracles. For a spirit of harlotry (רוח זנונים) has led them astray, and they have left their God to play the harlot." Volz considers the ruach here to be a demon.[29] On the other hand, Hosea 5:4 seems to indicate that it is only the religiously perverse nature of Israel, for the people are held responsible for their own apostasy: "Their deeds do not permit them to return to their God. For the spirit of harlotry is within them, and they know not the Lord." The fact that demons or evil spirits belonging to a spirit world are rarely mentioned in the Old Testament[30] would weigh against considering the ruach here to be an evil spirit. Both 4:12a and 5:4a suggest rather that Israel's unfaithful conduct stems from their own wilfulness rather than from seduction by some outside influence such as an evil spirit. The *ruach* in both verses fits easily into the third category of the *ruach* in man mentioned above, that in which *ruach* means volition or dominant disposition.

---

[29] Op. cit., p. 3.

[30] Cf. the following section in this chapter.

Isaiah 19:14: "The Lord has mingled within her a spirit of confusion (רוח עועים); and they have made Egypt stagger in all her doing . . ." The word עועים means "distorting" or "warping," deriving from the root עוה meaning "bend, twist,"[31] and seems unsuitable as the description of a personalized spirit or demon, or of the spirit of God. The dictionary translation is "temper of distorting, i.e., warped judgment."[32] The fact that it is an action attributed to Yahweh should not change its basic classification, i.e., the *ruach* of man for the prophets have subordinated all things, even evil conduct, to Yahweh's plan and direction. The purpose is Yahweh's but the resulting effect is received in the human spirit of the Egyptians. Nothing is said of Yahweh's spirit here.

Isaiah 28:5-6: "In that day the Lord of hosts will be a crown of glory, and a diadem of beauty, to the remnant of his people; and a spirit of justice (ולרוח משפט) to him who sits in judgment, and strength to those who turn back the battle at the gate." The similarity between the "spirit of justice" here and the attributes of the spirit of God listed in Isaiah 11:2 leads to the belief that the spirit of God is meant here. But on the other hand the fact that spirit of justice stands parallel with "crown," "diadem," and "strength" speaks against this judgement, for "crown" and "diadem" do not refer to the spirit of God. Actually, the only way to express the fact, in either Hebrew or English, that Yahweh's presence with his people will result in a sharpening of the faculties exercised by the judge is to say, "Yahweh will give him a spirit of justice." To say that "Yahweh will give him justice" gives an entirely different meaning, that of Yahweh being just to him. But it is sufficient to say, "Yahweh will give him strength." For that reason the prophet used ruach with "justice" but not with "strength," showing that he is speaking about an increase in the native faculties, the ruach, of the judge and the soldier. The object of God's activity here is man's spirit whose "natural" powers are increased through the influence of Yahweh.

---

[31] Cf. BDB, *op*. *cit*., p. 730

[32] *Loc*. *cit*.

Isaiah 29:10: "For the Lord has poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep, and has closed your eyes, the prophets. . ." Here again that which has been attributed to Yahweh in v. 10 is attributed to the willful conduct of the prophets themselves in v. 9: "Stupefy yourselves and be in a stupor . . ." "Spirit of deep sleep" is a graphic way of saying that the *ruach* of the prophets, their intellectual faculties, have become dull and lethargic so that they can no longer perceive the word of the Lord. The spirit of God is not meant here of course.

Numbers 5:14: "And if the spirit of jealousy comes upon him, (רוח קנאה) and he is jealous of his wife . . ." This verse may have reference to a personalized evil spirit, i.e., it may reflect popular opinion which attributed envy to the influence of an evil spirit. With equal justification, the *ruach* can be interpreted to mean the nature or disposition of the husband which is attacked by a wave of jealousy. There seems to be no sure way of determining which meaning is correct. Perhaps the relative lateness of the source (P) suggests that the latter interpretation is correct. At any rate, the spirit of God is not meant here.

Zechariah 12:10: "And I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem a spirit of compassion and supplication (רוח חן ותחנונים) . . ." In spite of the fact that "pour out" is used in Isaiah 32:15 and Joel 2:28 for the giving of the spirit of God, the word "supplication" shows that it cannot be the spirit of God which is the object here. The word תחנון is never used of God but only of supplication directed toward God or other men.[33] So the verse must mean that God has aroused within the inhabitants of Jerusalem such a spirit. The spirit of God is not mentioned.

E. Relation of the Spirit of Man to the Spirit of God

Two questions have been raised by the foregoing sketch of the chronological development in the meaning of this word ruach as it pertains to man. The first is the important question: Just what is the ruach in man? Can it be given a definition which will include all the meanings as they appear in the various periods represented by Old Testament literature? This question, and its answer, becomes even more urgent in view of the fact that many passages of the Old Testament, e.g. Psalm 31:5 (RSV), read alone and against the background of the Greek philosophy which has molded to a very considerable extent present day theology, seem to support the interpretation of an incarnate soul, an entity, immortal and indestructible, which comes from God and forms the higher nature of man as over against his body which is, and returns to, the dust. The question is also urgent because ruach, in and by itself, in any passage is generally uncertain of translation and can only be determined by a comprehensive definition drawn from the whole Old Testament usage. And even a correct translation, be it "breath" or "spirit," both Hebrew and English being ambiguous at this point, will not always manifest the proper meaning. What does the Old Testament mean when it speaks of the _ruach_ in man? Before giving a positive answer to this question, it is necessary to emphasize, first of all, that the _ruach_ of man is used only in contexts which emphasize the frailty, the uncertainty, the precarious nature of _ruach_ when it is associated with man.[34] It is constantly in need of being vivified but never is it spoken of as "vivifying" in its own right. Like the physical breath, frequently used metaphorically for the _ruach_ in man in addition to being one of its meanings, it must be renewed at each moment, at each exhalation, because it is constantly placed in jeopardy. It is never "possessed" once and for all. Second, the definition of ruach in man must be qualified by another negative statement, namely, that it is not an entity, a personal soul, or a "spirit" which inhabits man's body, and which can have an existence of its own apart from the body.[35] Genesis 7:22, where _neshamah_ is joined to, and equated with ruach, excludes this interpretation. Genesis 45:26, 27, where leb and ruach are joined in a parallelism would further exclude the idea of such a "spirit" or a "soul." Psalm 104:29, which speaks of "their ruach" (singular), would exclude any idea of a personal soul. So again the question must be asked: what, positively speaking, is the ruach in man? The answer, from all that has been written above, can only be that ruach is life, existence, but also life lived face-to-face with the source of this life, the source which passages such as Genesis 6:3, Psalms 104:29-30, or Isaiah 42:5, define specifically as God. Lys, in excluding any interpretation of ruach as an entity, described the relational nature of ruach, emphasizing that the ruach expresses above all a relation of dependence seen from man's side.[36] Perhaps there is more significance in Genesis 2:7 than is generally accorded it. For here is expressed in a superb way this face-to-face relationship without which there can be no life, no ruach. If God turns away his face, as Psalm 104:29 expresses it, all living things expire, for the ruach must be continually renewed by its creator.

---

[33] Cf. BDB, ibid., p. 337.

---

[34] Cf. Lys, _op. cit._, p. 348 _et passim_. This is one of the major conclusions of his study of the _ruach_ in man.

[35] Cf. Robinson, _Hebrew Psychology_, _op. cit._, p. 361, "'Soul' and 'spirit' eventually denote the same thing, viz. the conscious life of man, associated with breath as the vital principle."

Moreover, ruach as life does not only mean life on the physical level. It includes the psychological plane and the spiritual plane, without either of which there is only death. Thus ruach can express man's life at each level of his existence and his dependence on the source of life, the necessity for life, the ruach, to be constantly renewed at each moment by God himself. Ultimately, the ruach in man, primarily because of its similarity in name to the spirit of God (ruach), came to mean the "spiritual organ"[37] in man where God activates and renews him at the highest plane of his existence (Ezekiel 36:26-27, or Psalm 51:12). And if man, in pride and rebellion, turns away from the source of his life and denies his creator, his ruach, as it manifests itself in his conduct, is said to be bad (Hosea 4:12, 5:4) or confused (Isaiah 19:14, 29:10).[38]

---

[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 360 *et passim*.

The second question raised by the Old Testament use of ruach has been somewhat anticipated and partially answered. What, then, is the relation of the ruach of man to the ruach, the spirit of God? This can only be answered fully after the completion of the main body of this thesis. But it is necessary at this point to make several observations. First of all, the ruach or spirit in man is not to be identified with the spirit of God, as though they both partook of a common ruach "substance." The definition of ruach in man given above excludes this. Nowhere in the Bible is the ruach of man identified on a one-to-one basis with the spirit of God. To be sure, there are traces left of the Ancient Near Eastern concept of the divine breath found in every nostril, Job 27:3, for example, or the unusual Lam. 4:20. But they are only traces. It is not taught specifically in any passage. It has become a figure of speech, having reference to an archaic concept. On the other hand, the Biblical writers appear to have consciously avoided placing the ruach of God and the ruach of man together in the same context where they might be confused.[39] Secondly, it can probably be stated categorically that the use of ruach to mean the breath of God was not formed upon the idea of the ruach, the breath in man, through the use of an anthropomorphism. Man's ruach is only spoken of as "breath" late in the Biblical period, thus being antedated by the "breath" of God by several centuries (cf. II Sam. 22:16).[40] Furthermore, if the breath, or ruach of man is only spoken of as frail, precarious, dependent, constantly placed in jeopardy, how could it possibly have served, analogically, as the model for the ruach of God? Finally, the activity attributed to the breath of God, for example, in II Samuel 22:16, could never be said to be a possibility for the breath of man. So one must look elsewhere for the antecedent of the spirit of God, which was rather derived from the primitive understanding of the wind as a spirit or a divinity.[41]

---

[37] Cf. Lys, ibid., p. 358, "Si r. est en fin de compte 'L'organe religieux'," and Robinson, Hebrew, op. cit., p. 361, "But because 'spirit' originally denoted an energy acting on man from without, a divine energy, it naturally suggests a higher conception of the life of man, as drawn from God."

[38] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 75, 87-88, 206-207, 225-228.

---

[39] Ibid., p. 36, citing II Kgs. 2:9, 15, where it is the spirit of Elijah that is given to Elisha but where the spirit of Yahweh is not mentioned but is obviously the divine cause, and I Kgs. 22:24, which represents just the opposite situation. Ps. 104:29-30, in its conscious use of "their spirit," "thy spirit," also eliminates any thought of identifying the two. Cf. Job 34:14. Gen. 2:7 (neshamah) and Gen. 6:3 also consciously avoid placing the two together.

To summarize briefly, it has been shown that the ruach in man had the meaning of "vitality" or life force in the early period, which gave way to the meaning of "breath," probably as representative of this life force, which appeared concomitantly with the "ruach" in man, designating man's emotional, his volitional, and his spiritual life. That man has ruach means that he is alive as an animal, but in distinction to the animals it also means that he exists as an emotive, volitional, and spiritual being whose life on all levels is inspired and sustained by his creator. So ruach is not an entity in man but expresses a relation of dependence physiologically, psychologically, and spiritually, If this relation is broken, man no longer has ruach and he dies on all levels. But the relationship can be renewed, recreated again on all levels, as Ezekiel, chapters 37 and 36, in that order, show.

---

[40] For the exegesis of II Sam. 22:16 see below, pp. 86-88.

[41] Ibid., pp. 156-58, footnote #2.

So then, the spirit in man can be distinguished from the spirit of God as the creation is distinguished from the creator. The ruach in man is not an emanation from a universal ruach substance, because it is not a substance at all. There is a sharp discontinuity, a dissimilarity, even though there is a relation, which will make possible the study of the spirit of Yahweh by itself alone, in relation to, but as differentiated from, the spirit of man. And having the priority, chronologically and otherwise, the spirit of God can be studied as a contrasting potentiality against the background of the spirit of man which it enlivens and maintains. This leads directly to the main body of the thesis.

III. EVIL RUACH

There are a number of Old Testament passages using ruach which fit easily into none of the three classic categories of wind, man, or God.[42] In these cases, ruach is almost always qualified by a pejorative, which does not, of course, automatically exclude it from the realm of Yahweh's activity, because in most instances it is described as being sent by Yahweh, and in I Samuel 16:15,16 it is even called the "evil spirit of God" (v. 23, "spirit of God").[43] It is not the purpose of this section to present a complete discussion of these passages together with the related problems of demonology, angelology, satanology, etc.[44] It will be necessary, however, to determine whether ruach in these cases is or is not the spirit of God, which is the subject under investigation in this thesis.

---

[42] Judges 9:23; I Sam. 16:14,15,16, 23 (twice); 18:10; I Kings 22:22-23; II Kings 19:7; Zech. 13:2.

---

[43] Unless otherwise indicated all Biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version.

[44] These passages are discussed by Volz, op. cit., pp. 2ff., by Paul Imschoot in his article "L'Action de l'Esprit de Jahvé dans l'A.T." Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques 23(1934), pp. 553-87, by Koch, op. cit., pp. 37-44, by Lys, op. cit., passim, who has managed to include them all in one or the other of his three categories, wind, man, God, and by Scheepers, op. cit., pp. 96-119, who being unable to include them anywhere else, has felt obliged to give them a separate chapter sandwiched between his chapters on the spirit in man and the spirit of Yahweh, which chapter he has entitled, "Ruah as An 'Extra-Natural' spirit." Friedrich Baumgärtel, Spirit of God, Chapter I, "The Old Testament." (translated by A. E. Harvey from Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament) (London: A. C. Black, 1960), p. 6, states, "the Old Testament . . . has anchored the demonic firmly in the Almighty power, that is to say, in the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God can become active as an Evil Spirit..." To say this, however, is to give "spirit of God" a completely different meaning than that given to it in this dissertation. Baumgärtel would seem to confirm this when he goes on to state, "This Evil Spirit is found eventually opposed to God and is hypostasized: in I Kgs. 22:19ff. . .," and when he says that this Evil Spirit of God becomes the Satan of Job 1. To lump Evil Spirit-Satan together with Spirit of God is to make meaningless the concept or classification, spirit of God.

It seems best to start from the known and work to the unknown. In this case the known, at least that which can be determined with a certain amount of confidence, is the sequence of verses in I Samuel 16 and I Kings 22. The former tells of David's anointing and his receiving of the spirit of Yahweh (v. 13), after which in the following verse it is specifically stated that "the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him" (v. 14). In v. 15 mention is again made of this spirit, called here and in v. 16, רוח אלהים רעה, in v. 23, רוח אלהים and, רוח רעה, and in 19:9, רוח יהוה רעה. Now in spite of the varied terminology used to describe this spirit, and in spite of the fact that the narrative does not make clear what the nature of this ruach actually was, or was thought to be, yet there can be no doubt, from the explicit statements in vv. 13, 14, that the Biblical writer wished to distinguish this evil ruach from the singular spirit of Yahweh. This interpretation is substantiated by the use of elohim rather than Yahweh in verses 15, 16, and 23, (the LXX reads elohim for Yahweh in 19:9). That is to say, the Biblical writer wished to distinguish the evil spirit which came on Saul from the spirit of Yahweh. He could not conceive of a spirit outside Yahweh's control so he used "from God" to distinguish the evil spirit from the spirit of Yahweh, at the same time expressing the fact that the spirit is under God's dominion. The evil spirit, then, which comes "from Yahweh" is to be distinguished from the spirit of Yahweh which is never in this way separated in the Biblical account from the person of Yahweh.

These conclusions seem further substantiated by the narrative in I Kings 22:5-28. Jehoshaphat of Judah and Ahab of Israel are about to enter battle against Syria and inquire of the prophets concerning the prospects of victory. After the four hundred shalom prophets prophesy victory, Micaiah ben Imlah is called. At first he too only prophesies victory, but after being urged by the kings, he relates, as the word of the Lord, a vision which has been granted him: he finds himself in the presence of the Divine Council, out of which assembly one spirit, called הרוח , steps forth, volunteering to become a "lying spirit" in the mouth of the prophets in order to mislead and destroy Ahab. This spirit is appointed to the task for which he has volunteered, and Micaiah concludes his speech by stating that "the Lord has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these your prophets; the Lord has spoken evil concerning you." In subsequent action, Zedekiah, one of the shalom prophets, says, "How did the Spirit of the Lord go from me to speak to you?"

That the ruach, personified to an extent not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, is distinguished from Yahweh, and thus cannot be the spirit of Yahweh which is never so differentiated, is clear from several indications in the text. The ruach, determined by the article, and masculine in gender, perhaps to emphasize its nature as an entity as over against Yahweh,[45] stands before Yahweh and engages him in conversation. Furthermore, it is a member of the Divine Council, and as such, is a member of the non-Israelite pantheon of gods,[46] which further distinguishes it from the spirit of Yahweh. Finally, Zedekiah's words in v. 24 "proved that it was not the Spirit of God which inspired him. If he had been inspired by the Spirit of the Lord, he would not have thought it necessary to try and give effect to his words by rude force, but he would have left the defence of his cause quietly to the Lord, as Micah did. . ."[47] Whatever the ruach was thought to be in the mind of the narrator, there seems no question but that he meant to say that the ruach, which became the lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets, is not the spirit of Yahweh which inspires the faithful prophets.

---

[45] Cf. Lys, ibid., p. 32.

[46] Cf. H. J. Kraus, Psalmen (Neukirchener: Verlag der Buchhandlung, 1960), Vol I, pp. 236 and 571.

[47] C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, The Books of the Kings, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), p. 278.

If it is established in these two passages that the evil ruach and the lying ruach are not the spirit of Yahweh, even though they are under Yahweh's control and direction, it seems possible to apply these conclusions to those passages where the nature of the ruach is hard to determine because no direct comparison is made between the spirit of Yahweh and the evil spirit. It seems logical to assume then, that in the case of the evil spirit of Judges 9:23, the unclean spirit of Zechariah 13:2, and the spirit which panics Sennacherib in II Kings 19:7, (Isaiah 37:7) there is described a spirit, or spirits, other than the spirit of Yahweh.[48] Likewise it can be concluded that they have made no direct contribution to the development of the concept of the spirit of Yahweh in the Old Testament. This being true they will be eliminated from further inquiry in the body of this thesis.

IV. RUACH AS A GHOST

Before proceeding with the study of the passages directly related to the spirit of God, it is necessary to discuss one final passage. Job 4:15 uses ruach in the first speech of Eliphaz in a context of revelation (v. 12, 17), yet in a manner that could be reminiscent of a wind or spectre. Here again, the purpose remains that of determining whether or not the spirit of Yahweh is involved. Verse 15 reads, "A spirit glided past my face; the hair of my flesh stood up." The word in question, ruach, is anarthrous and masculine in gender. In this context it may have been picked because of its very ambiguity, denoting at the same time either a breath of air, a spirit, or the spirit of inspiration.[49] The best argument against giving it the meaning of the spirit of God here is that not only is the physical effect on Eliphaz unlike anything related of the spirit of God elsewhere in the Old Testament, but whenever the book of Job elsewhere speaks of the spirit of God, it is clearly identified either by the personal pronoun "his" (meaning God's) or one of the words used to designate God himself (cf. e.g. 4:9 in this same Eliphaz speech), or placed parallel with neshamah. The word "ruach" here can be interpreted to mean "wind" and will not be included in the study of the spirit of God.

---

[48] Cf. Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé et l'alliance nouvelle dans l'A.T.," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, 13 (1936), p. 204, footnote 32.

---

[49] Most recent commentators vote against "ghost" and in favor of "wind," cf. Samuel Terrien, Job in the Interpreters Bible, Vol. II, p. 939, and Gustav Hölscher, Das Buch Hiob: (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1952), p. 18.

PART TWO

CHAPTER V

THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE EARLIEST BIBLICAL TEXTS

With the conclusion of the investigation into the background for the spirit of God provided by Ancient Near Eastern literature, by concomitant usages in the word family of רוח, and by parallel meanings of the word ruach in the Old Testament, it is now possible to approach the Biblical texts themselves in order to ascertain as precisely as possible how they have described the spirit of God. This chapter will take up the texts which originated during approximately the first four centuries of Israel's history, down to the early part of the ninth century.[1] An attempt will be made to compare the conclusions gained in Chapters II and III with the results obtained in this chapter.

---

[1] The texts from this period: Early Poetry, Ex. 15:8,10; Num. 24:2; II Sam. 22:16; 23:2. Early Historical Writings, Gen. 41:38; Num. 11:17,25,26,29: Judg. 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6,19; 15:14; I Sam. 10:6,10; 11:6; 16:13,14; 19:20,23. Within each period texts have been arranged according to type of literature and after the order of books found in the MT. No attempt has been made to arrange the texts for any given period into a chronological order, not only because chronological classification is virtually impossible at certain points but also because little significant chronological development in the concept of the spirit can be observed within the separate classifications for each period.

I. EARLY POETRY

It has been said that "the priority of the poetic form of the tradition normally is to be expected in this cultural milieu."[2] Exodus 15:1-18 thus represents probably the oldest account of that divine act in history which showed to Israel that she had been created and chosen by Yahweh himself as his own people.

This poem, "The Song of Miriam," is a hymn of thanksgiving to Yahweh for his saving act at the Reed Sea. Verses 1-3 introduce Yahweh who has gained the victory over Egypt. Verses 4-12 have the recital of deeds customary in the main body of such a hymnic psalm. Verses 13-17 continue this with a recital of post-exodus events, concluding with the doxology in v. 18.

The verses under discussion here are 8 and 10:

8 At the blast of thy nostrils (ברוח אפיך) the
waters piled up,
the floods stood up in a heap;
the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea.

9 The enemy said, 'I will pursue, I will overtake,
I will divide the spoil, my desire shall have its
fill of them.
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.'

---

[2] Frank M. Cross, Jr. and David Noel Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 14(1955), p. 239. For a defense of the antiquity of this hymn see the same article, pp. 237-250.

> 10 Thou didst blow with thy wind (נשפת ברוחך) the
> sea covered them;
> they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

The fact that the wind is mentioned in 14:21 leaves no doubt about its actual presence. The question is, how did the hymn writer of 15:8-10 conceive of it? It is possible that the writer had in mind only the wind viewed figuratively as the breath of Yahweh. But there are indications that ruach in v. 8 and also in v. 10 has more significance attached to it than mere wind viewed metaphorically.

The fact that ruach in v. 8 should be translated as "breath" rather than "wind" is determined by the word אפיך . This latter word could also have the meaning of "anger."[3] However, the "fury" of Yahweh is directed against the Egyptians, v. 7, and not against the waters of v. 8. On the contrary, the waters almost seem to be a friendly participant in the struggle against the common Egyptian enemy, for the floods stand at attention, נצבו , as if they are members of Yahweh's army, and they are described by the quite complimentary אדירים of v. 10. So the conflict is not waged between Yahweh and the sea, but rather against the Egyptians. Therefore the אפיך should be translated "nostrils" rather than "anger," determining in turn that the ruach of v. 8 is "breath," or "blast" if one wishes to emphasize the power of the breath of Yahweh's nostrils.

---

[3] So Martin Noth, Exodus (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 124, "the 'blast of his nostrils' (v. 8) refers to his raging anger."

The ruach in v. 10 is more difficult to translate. The translation "wind" in the RSV is questionable for three reasons. The Old Testament in no other place speaks of Yahweh "blowing" the wind. He "brings," "turns," "makes" it blow, he "hurls," "appoints," "raises," "brings forth," but never does he "blow" as if the blowing of the wind were equivalent to Yahweh's breathing. This would seem to indicate that ruach in v. 10 should be translated "breath." Secondly, for the sake of consistency, because the writer meant "breath" in v. 8, he probably meant "breath" in v. 10, for it is the same action against the sea. Finally, the wind in the narrative account of Exodus 14 has no task that would correspond to the task of the ruach in 15:10. It is the hand of Moses that brings the waters back, 14:26-27. It is not certain that the wind was even involved here in the returning of the waters. For these three reasons it can probably be concluded that the writer meant the "breath" of Yahweh in v. 10 also.[4]

---

[4] For the translation of "breath" in both verses 8 and 10, cf. George Fohrer, Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), pp. 113-114: v. 8 "Durch den Hauch deiner Nase," v. 10, "Du bliesest mit deinem Hauch. . ."

If the hymnwriter used ruach in such a way as to indicate that it is more than wind, what could he have had in mind? Is it not conceivable that there is seen here the process, or the very end result of the process, by which the wind, viewed in other cultures as a divinity, is removed from participation in Yahweh's salvation acts, to be replaced in increasing measure by Yahweh himself, be it by his own hand, his own word, or his own breath? The divine wind in the Marduk myth is of course subject to Marduk's control, as is the wind here in Exodus 14. But in that polytheistic society it existed and functioned in the divine realm as a special instrument of the gods, a fact moreover which can be seen by reference to myth. An activity was attributed to the wind which was never to be found in the natural world, an activity which removed it from the natural world to the divine realm of the gods. But in Egypt it functioned as a divinity in its own right as the god Amon-re. But Israel here, at the same time that she has made the wind nothing more than an element of nature in Exodus 14:21, has attributed to Yahweh himself, in 15:8,10, the movement of the sea which resulted in the overthrow of the Egyptians. The "breath" of Yahweh has assumed those functions assigned to the divine wind in other cultures. And the breath of v. 8 and v. 10 is no separate divinity, nor is it even separable from Yahweh. It is

Yahweh himself acting alone to gain the victory, as verses 1,3,4,6,7,12, and 18 emphasize. The glory is to be all Yahweh's. The victory is his alone. There is no divine assistant.

That this is not pure conjecture is indicated by the following additional observations. Psalm 18, dating from this same early period[5] and showing a situation somewhat similar to Exodus 15, has made the wind the vehicle upon which Yahweh rides, 18:10, showing that the _ruach_ of 18:15 which acts upon the waters is not the wind at all but is Yahweh's breath, i.e., a special manifestation of his power. Secondly, not only does the Old Testament never say that God "blew" the wind, it also never describes the wind as the breath (_ruach_) of God,[6] but it does, on the other hand, equate the breath of God with the spirit of God, cf. e.g., Job 33:4, 34:14. Finally, it has been seen above in the chapter on the wind, Chapter IV, Section I, how the wind is never described in the Old Testament as a divine wind, how rather it is never more than a created element active in the natural world and finally how it comes to be increasingly employed metaphorically for vanity, emptiness, transitoriness. So the demotion of the wind in Exodus 15 is not an isolated example but is the first instance in a process which continues throughout the whole Old Testament.

---

[5] Cf. _infra_, p. 86 , footnote 12 for the dating of this psalm.

[6] Isaiah 40:7 should be translated "wind" rather than "breath" for nothing more than the natural activity of the wind is present in the wilting of the flowers. Ezekiel 37 has the human "breath" come from the four winds but does not speak of the breath of the Lord. Isaiah 59:19, which has _ruach_ _Yahweh_, merely describes the effects of the natural wind as it drives along the waters of a rushing river.

The use of ruach with "nostrils" v. 8, and with "blew" v. 10, could, at the same time that it recognized the fact that the natural wind blew (although this is not to be taken for granted in verse 10), also express the writer's interpretation that it was Yahweh's controlling and active power which was present and evident in the Reed Sea event. Increasingly, in the course of the Old Testament literature, this unique power will come to be known as God's ruach, commonly translated as "breath," "blast," or "spirit." Here it was revealed in an unmistakable way to Israel, for the first time, at the commencement of her history as a nation in that once-and-for-all event which was so supremely decisive for the life of Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh.

Numbers 24:2, like Genesis 41:38, must be interpreted as reflecting an Israelite conception of the spirit.[7] Balaam, a Mesopotamian soothsayer, has been hired by Balak, the king of Moab, to curse Israel but is unable to speak anything but the blessings which Yahweh has put in his mouth (Numbers 23:12, 26, etc.). But in 24:2 there is a different rubric: "And the Spirit of God (רוח אלהים) came upon him." This might be interpreted to mean that because Balaam gives Yahweh's message and not his own or Balak's, it is the spirit of Yahweh which has inspired the message.[8] But because Yahweh is stated to be the source of the message in 23:5,12, 16,17,26, without the mediation of the spirit, it is preferable to suppose that the spirit has brought on the ecstatic condition[9] described in vv. 3,4, which, by the way, is the fullest description of an ecstatic condition found in the Old Testament. This is substantiated by 24:1 which stated that Balaam did not consult the omens as at other times but "set his face toward the wilderness," perhaps indicating a position preparatory to the ecstatic condition. The conclusion that the ecstatic condition is caused by the spirit of God is not contradicted by the fact that verses 3-4 are repeated in the fourth oracle, verses 15-16, but without the mention of the spirit of God, for verses 1-2 are probably meant to be introductory to both the third and fourth oracles, there being no further introduction before the fourth oracle.

---

[7] Cf. Arthur Weiser, The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development (New York: Association Press, 1960), p. 105. For Genesis 41:38 see below, pp. 91 ff. Numbers 24:2 has been classified here in early poetry because verses 3 and 4 are included in its interpretation.

---

[8] Cf. Volz, op. cit., p. 16, footnote 1, or J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), p. 92.

[9] Thus G. B. Gray, Numbers (N.Y.: Scribners, 1920), p. 359.

Thus in this chapter the spirit of God is thought of as having occasioned the condition of ecstatic sight under the influence of which Balaam sees visions of God and hears his word. In this sense, the spirit of God spoken of in verse 2 does not inspire the word as it did during the major prophetic period. It rather causes the "enthusiasm" which seems to typify this early period and which will be more fully described in the next section of this chapter which takes up the early historical writings. The fact that this early conception of the spirit of God appears in this passage testifies to the antiquity of the passage.[10]

It should be noted finally that the spirit of God here takes possession of an unwilling subject and uses him contrary to the intentions of that subject. Moreover, it is the only time in a non-eschatological context that the spirit of

---

[10] Against John Marsh, The Book of Numbers in IB, Vol. II, p. 259, who says that the "mode of prophetic inspiration is more spiritual and probably late." Cross and Freedman, op. cit., p. 240, see similarities between Exodus 15, Judges 5 and the Oracles of Balaam and consider them "roughly contemporaneous, . . .scarcely later than the twelfth century."

God comes on a non-Yahwist,[11] probably permitted in this case because of his task of pronouncing blessings on Israel for Yahweh.

II Samuel 22:16[12] uses ruach in a context similar in certain ways to Exodus 15. The theme is the salvation of a king out of a dangerous situation which is not specifically identified but is rather described in semi-mythological terms as being a deliverance from "great waters." The verses under consideration are:

> 16 Then the channels of the sea were seen,
> the foundations of the world were laid bare,
> at the rebuke of the Lord,
> at the blast of the breath of his nostrils.
> מנשמת רוח אפו
>
> 17 He reached from on high, he took me,
> he drew me out of many waters.

Determining the meaning of ruach is greatly facilitated by the presence of the word neshamah. This word is used in the Old Testament almost exclusively with the meaning of the physical act of respiration,[13] so that the phrase מנשמת רוח אפו cannot refer to wind and must be translated literally "from the exhalation of the breath of his nostrils." This would seem to serve as further substantiation for the interpretation given to Exodus 15:8 above, with which the present passage has in common the situation of salvation from the waters.[14] But it differs in the fact that here, unlike Exodus 15, the anger of Yahweh, as well as his power is expressed with ruach because it stands in a parallelism with "rebuke." But in this passage, in which the enemy is presented in terms of the mythological allusion to water, thus opening the door for the possible misunderstanding of ruach as the divine wind, the possibility of such misunderstanding is immediately excluded by qualifying ruach both with אפ and with נשמה . Furthermore, it has been shown that the Biblical writer, by giving the wind a decidedly minor role in v. 11 as the vehicle upon which Yahweh is mounted when he comes to save his king, means to eliminate the wind from having any part in the combat against the sea, and on the other hand means to reserve for Yahweh alone the role of victor and liberator.[15] So *ruach* here, as in Exodus 15, means the saving power of Yahweh viewed figuratively as his breath which routs the waters, but with the additional meaning of anger or wrath which is directed in a punitive way against the enemy.

---

[11] Quite the opposite of that which is true in the case of the spirit in man, for it is recognized as being present in many beside Israelites.

[12] For the dating of this psalm, a duplicate of Psalm 18, see Artur Weiser, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

[13] Cf. BDB, op. cit., p. 675. The translation of neshamah in Proverbs 20:27 as "spirit" is questionable, for translating it as "breath" in this passage gives just as satisfactory a meaning as "spirit."

---

[14] It is quite possible that the king, who has experienced a miraculous deliverance from the enemy through the intervention of Yahweh, has described his experiences in terms of Israel's miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, Cf. v. 16ab, only using terms which bear more direct reference to the Babylonian creation myth than are found in Ex. 15, e.g., "great waters," "rebuke." The word "drew me out," ימשני , may also be a reference to Moses.

Mention should finally be made of the conjunction between "word," which the term "rebuke" surely implies,[16] and spirit, represented by "breath," an association which will be noted frequently through the course of this study.

II Samuel 23:2, "the last words of David," introduces the spirit functioning in a completely different manner.[17] The relevant text is verse 2: "The Spirit of the Lord (רוח יהוה) speaks by me, his word is upon my tongue."

The use of the preposition ב with דבר is unusual but not unique. The usual form is אל in the prophetic books, although ב is used frequently by Zechariah and is also found in Habakkuk 2:1, and Hosea 1:2. It is also used of the Lord's speaking with Moses, Numbers 12:2,6,8, and by Micaiah,

---

[15] Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[16] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 277.

[17] For the early dating of this poem cf. Weiser, *op. cit.*, p. 169, and for a detailed defense of its antiquity Otto Procksch, "Die letzen Worte Davids," *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament*, 13(1913), 112-125.

I Kings 22:28. Driver, who has discussed this rather unusual form, concludes that the meaning is to "speak with," as a superior to an inferior, although "in or through" is possible.[18] The latter meaning seems to be supported by the accompanying phrase, "his word is upon my tongue." The unusualness of the ב with דבר , and the fact that it is rarely used by the classical prophets, could mean that there is present here a form of inspiration which antedates the prophets.

It is difficult to decide whether David attributes to the spirit of Yahweh prophetic inspiration or poetic inspiration. Normally, prophecy is a word of judgment or of encouragement received by the prophet which had to be proclaimed to the listeners for whom it was intended. This poem, however, is of a completely different nature. Although it is called an oracle in v. 1, as were many of the prophetic messages, yet in this case it is an "oracle of David" and not an "oracle of God."[19] Nor does it have the nature of a prophetic

---

[18] S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), pp. 357-358.

[19] Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 114, has shown the similarity between "The oracle of David, the son of Jesse," and Numbers 24:3, "The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor," which latter he dates to Solomon's time. This unusual form, where the statement of the oracle is part of the strophic structure of the poem, is not typical of the prophetic writings, where it rather stands as a superscription, and is found elsewhere only in Psalm 110:1, and Proverbs 30:1. Procksch suggests that it is an old, pre-prophetic form. Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 447, 474, says that the words show David to be a "seer," and sees prophetic characteristics here.

"message" to be proclaimed, but rather is a discourse on kingship, centering on the Davidic covenant, cf. verses 4-5. This would also seem to indicate that it is something other than prophetic inspiration. From the nature of the poem and because it is called an "oracle of David," rather than an "oracle of God," it seems best to speak here of poetic inspiration. David attributes to the spirit of Yahweh the gift of eloquence which has made him "the sweet psalmist of Israel." But along with the gift of eloquence the spirit of Yahweh has also inspired in David the contents of his poem, which has as its central theme the everlasting covenant that God made with David. Does David mean to say that the covenant also was revealed to him through the spirit of God? Although not explicitly so stated, the poem as a whole might seem to indicate this.

To the degree that David was different from Balaam, the effects of the spirit on David can be expected to differ from its effects on Balaam. The effects are seen not in ecstatic conduct but in intellectual stimulation. This is still the early period so that similarities to the spirit as it appeared in or on the prophets can not yet be expected. But neither are the "enthusiastic" traits which are common to passages from this early period (cf. below, the texts from Numbers 11, Judges, and I Samuel) readily apparent in II

Samuel 23:2. This is to anticipate, but perhaps David will serve as the transition from the spirit as it is evidenced in this period, to the spirit of the prophets. That is to say, actual "enthusiasm" as related to the spirit is disappearing but prophetic inspiration is not yet present. A study of the spirit as it appeared in connection with the elders, the judges, and Saul, is necessary before any final conclusions can be made.

Note again the conjunction of word and spirit.

II. EARLY HISTORICAL WRITINGS

There is a question whether Genesis 41:38 (E)[20] should even be included in a study of the spirit of God. The words are in the mouth of Pharaoh and the "elohim" he would have in mind would have little to do with Israel's God. But on the other hand, the passage can be understood as a tradition preserved by Israel that reflects Israel's idea of the spirit as it existed during the period when this tradition was transmitted in that nation. Taken in this sense, 41:38 is relevant as a subject of inquiry in this thesis.[21] This verse is an exclamation of wonder and a proposal to choose Joseph as overseer, voiced by Pharaoh after Joseph has interpreted his dream and advised him to store up grain for the famine years: "And Pharaoh said to his servants, 'can we find such a man as this, in whom is the Spirit of God (רוח אלהים)?'"

---

[20] Without debating the date when the Elohistic source was put into writing, it seems possible to consider the Joseph Cycle one of the traditions which was included in the Elohistic document, and as such, having a history of its own before the formation of the Elohistic document, its date certainly falls within the limits of the present period.

What is there in Joseph that is seen by others to be evidence of the presence of the spirit of God? Some commentators have interpreted this as the spirit of prophecy because of the well-known predilection of the Elohistic source for prophets and prophecy.[22] But there are many indications that it is rather the charismatic spirit which has been brought into relation with the wisdom tradition.[23] Joseph is presented here not as a prophet but as a wise man who in his wisdom is superior to the wise men of Egypt (v. 8). G. von Rad has pointed out in detail the similarities of the Joseph narratives to Egyptian wisdom and to the book of Proverbs. Joseph has received the training and exhibits the ability for rhetoric and counseling which represent the ideals of the wisdom school.[24] Thus Joseph is here cast in the role of the ideal ruler (cf. I Kgs 3:8) as he might be described by the wisdom school. But something greater than the wisdom school is here. The talent and ability which he possesses, not only the ability to interpret dreams but also the ability to counsel the King of Egypt in terms that are coherent and convincing, and the ability to govern, are all considered to be gifts from God, not just a result of his training as a sage, and evidence that the spirit of God is in him. cf. v. 39.[25] The spirit in 41:38 is understood to be God's gift to certain men of special talent and ability. It is through the spirit of God that these gifts are bestowed on man, and the presence of these capabilities can be said to be equivalent to the extraordinary presence of the spirit of God in a man.

---

[21] Thus it is not necessary to be concerned with whether or not Pharaoh actually said this. Regardless of the problem of whether the words only had their existence in Israel as a tradition which originated in a foreign country, or whether they also had an Israelite origin, the words certainly reflect an Israelite rather than an Egyptian concept of God and the spirit, and it is in this sense that they will be understood and used in this thesis. This is confirmed by William McKane, Prophets and Wise Men (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 49-50, who sees in the presence of the spirit of God in this passage "a reinterpretation of the vocabulary of old wisdom and an accommodation of it to Israelite piety." It might be noted in addition that this is the only passage in the OT that relates the spirit of God to the Genesis patriarchs.

[22] Cf. D. Otto Procksch, Die Genesis, op. cit., p. 403.

---

[23] Cf. Imschoot, "Sagesse et esprit dans l'A.T.," Revue Biblique 47 (1938), p. 30; also McKane, loc. cit.

[24] G. von Rad, Gesammelte Studien, (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1958), pp. 272 ff.

[25] Cf. McKane, loc. cit., who says that when Joseph suggests a man as prime minister who is discreet and wise, there is no reason to believe that he has in mind "a man who has the spirit of God and who can interpret dreams, since these are not the qualifications required by the person who is to implement" his own plan. He is, however, referring to

Unlike Genesis 41:38, which was interpreted above as reflecting a somewhat later conception of the spirit rather than one contemporary with the event described in that passage, the manifestation of the spirit in Numbers 11:16-30 (E) must be understood as the description of an actual event in Israel's history.[26] The narrative has to do with the

---

someone "who has been educated for high office and who has the intellectual virtues conferred by a rigorous educational discipline and by experience of affairs . . ." This is not how "discreet" and "wise" are understood by Pharaoh, "who appears to trace to the spirit of God not only Joseph's ability to interpret dreams, but also the practical advice which he offers in vv. 33-36 (cf. 'all this' in v. 39). At any rate, there is no doubt that Pharaoh is represented as saying that the '*īš* *nāḇōn* *wᵉḫākām* who is required to organize Egypt against the years of famine must be one who is possessed of the spirit of God. Thus Pharaoh says: 'Since God has divulged (*hōḏīa'*) all this to you, there is none so *nāḇōn* and *ḫākām* as you are' (v. 39, cf. v. 25, *higgīḏ*). Pharaoh wants Joseph as an administrator, but it is represented that the first-class administrator--the man who is *nāḇōn* and *ḫākām*--is he who possesses the spirit of God. This is a reinterpretation of the vocabulary of old wisdom and an accommodation of it to Israelite piety. That is to say, the statesman no less than the interpreter of dreams must be charismatically endowed."

[26] Numbers 11 is considered by some a late rewrite of the actual events described in Exodus 16 and 18. Because the Elohistic source is notoriously interested in prophets, and

choosing of seventy men from among those who are listed as the elders of Israel, the chosen ones to serve as Moses' assistants in leading the people. Yahweh, himself, promises to provide the authentication:

> 17 And I will come down and talk with you there; and I will take some of the spirit which is upon you and put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with you, that you may not bear it yourself alone.

Moses gathers "seventy men of the elders" and they meet around the tent.

---

because neither prophets nor spirit are mentioned in the Exodus account, these elements of the narrative are credited with no historical basis but are considered to have been added later by the redactor. For example, Lys, op. cit., in footnote 1, page 62, calls it a new redaction of Ex. 18 and appears to date it in the eighth century. Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 310, dates the spirit-possession much later. See also Lindblom, op. cit., pp. 101-102, who considers it an aetiological narrative that "cannot be utilized as a historical record and has nothing to teach us about the real origin of ecstatic prophecy."

It should be made clear, first of all, that the only thing being defended here is the historicity of some event which took place some time early in Israel's history in which the spirit was manifested to Israel with undeniably visible concomitant effects. Whether this event took place before or after Sinai is not relevant to this point and will not be argued pro or con.

If the spirit in Num. 11 is to be considered a redactor's addition, four questions must be given consideration: (1) Although the E source is interested in "prophets," (cf. Gen 20:7, Ex 33:11, Num. 12:6 ff., and Deut. 34:10) in none of these passages is the spirit mentioned. Why should it be assumed that a late Elohistic redactor has added the spirit in Num 11? (2) Why would a late editor, living at a time when ecstatic prophets and "prophesying" are in disrepute, use this visible "prophesying" as a sign of the charisma

> 25 Then the Lord came down in the cloud and spoke
> to him, and took some of the spirit that was
> upon him (ויאצל מן־הרוח אשר עליו) and
> put it upon the seventy elders; and when the spirit
> rested (נוח) upon them, they prophesied
> (יתנבאו). But they did so no more.
>
> 26 Now two men remained in the camp, one named
> Eldad, and the other named Medad, and the spirit
> rested upon them; they were among those registered,
> but they had not gone out to the tent,
> and so they prophesied in the camp. [27]And a
> young man ran and told Moses, "Eldad and Medad
> are prophesying in the camp." [28]And Joshua the
> son of Nun, the minister of Moses, one of his
> chosen men, said, "My lord Moses, forbid them."
> [29]But Moses said to him, "Are you jealous for
> my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were
> prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit
> upon them!" [30]And Moses and the elders of
> Israel returned to the camp.

Many things are indicated here about the spirit. The verb אצל , used only four times in the Old Testament, can

---

for the elders and for Moses (although Moses does not prophesy, yet it is the same spirit that is on him)? This process of discrediting ecstatic prophesying seems to be already underway by the time of Elijah and Elisha, who do not "prophesy," perhaps due to the adverse influence of the Baal prophets (cf. II Kgs 9:11). At any rate, it is difficult to believe that, without some sort of tradition like Num. 11 already in existence, an editor after 850 B.C. would want to provide this kind of authentication for Moses and the elders. (3) How can the spirit of God be introduced so abruptly in the book of Judges without prior introduction? The spirit which falls on Othniel is not introduced in any way. It is assumed that the activity of the spirit of God is already well known in Israel through some prior visible manifestation. It is logical to assume that Num. 11 provided this historical introduction in a manifest way that left no question as to its reality and power. Just as Acts 10:44 presupposes Acts 2, and would not be intelligible without it, so Judg. 3:10 presupposes Num. 11 as an actual event. (4) Is it possible have the meaning of "withdraw" but the meaning of "withhold" seems preferable, on the basis of Gen. 27:36, "Have you not reserved a blessing for me?" or Eccl. 2:10, "I kept my heart from no pleasure," and even Ezek 42:6, "The upper chambers were set back from the ground more than the lower chambers." The verb in vv. 17 and 25 does not mean that Yahweh "takes away" from Moses part of the ruach already belonging to him but that he withholds some of that which is constantly being granted to Moses to bestow it on the elders. The verb does not indicate that the ruach is a substance or free agent that Moses has at one time had in his possession, but that is now to be divided among the elders. On the contrary, the verb emphasizes: (1) that it is above all Yahweh's spirit to be bestowed by his own free decision on whom he will, be it on Moses or on the elders; (2) that it is not and has never been "possessed" by any one, even Moses, but rather that it is a constantly renewed gift which can be withheld in whole or in part according to Yahweh's decision; and that it is the same spirit that rests on Moses and on the elders. The verb נוח , "rest" or "remain," used, in vv. 25 and 26, of the

---

to believe that a narrative such as 11:26-30, including the names Eldad and Medad, was a later composition? Such an assumption raises more problems than it settles. It seems preferable to believe that at some point in the pre-Conquest history of Israel the spirit of God was manifested in Israel's midst in an undeniable and completely convincing manner.

spirit, indicates a gentle as well as a continuing presence of the spirit. Thus, the "prophesying" which accompanied it ceased but the charisma of the spirit continued.[27]

Just what form the "prophesying" took is difficult to determine, whether it was a type of speech or an ecstatic condition which was visible to others. That it was contagious but controlled is shown in vv. 26-30, for Eldad and Medad were of those enrolled. It is specifically related to the gift of the spirit in v. 25. It is in no way spoken of in a derogatory manner in this chapter which leads to the conclusion that it was a concomitant and extraordinary phenomenon planned and given by God at this specific time to show Israel the reality of the spirit and the genuineness of the gift.[28] Without this visible phenomenon, the presence of the spirit would be difficult to verify, particularly when it is bestowed upon individuals for the first time in Israel's history. But the fact that the prophesying ceased would indicate that the prophesying was only given at particular times for verification of the authentic gift and in no way should it be considered to be the necessary accompaniment or verification of the spirit. The cessation of the external phenomena also shows that the vocation of the elders was not to be that of prophets but rather that the prophesying authenticated them as judges in the eyes of the people.

---

[27] Cf. C. F. Keil, The Pentateuch (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1959), Vol. III, p. 70.

[28] John Calvin, Commentary on the Four Last Books of Moses (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), Vol. IV, p. 35, says, "God kept the 2 men in the camp because he wanted to show all the people, who were not at the tabernacle, that he was commissioning the elders."

In regard to the work of the spirit itself, it is of course authentication for those elders who are chosen to assist Moses, and thus is given at the inauguration of a new institution in Israel, but it is not limited to this external function. Verse 17 seems to imply that because the spirit is given to the elders, they will be enabled to assist Moses in "bearing the burden of the people." The gift of the spirit is the divine charisma, the added gift which is necessary to those who are to bear the responsibility of leadership.[29] However, even though the gift of the spirit is granted to only a few select individuals, Moses can look forward to that time when the charismatic spirit as a special gift of God's grace will be granted to all of God's people (v. 29).[30]

---

[29] Thus von Rad, Theology, op. cit., p. 99, even though he finds this "claim to prophetic charismatic authority" made by the elders "rather strange."

[30] G. B. Gray, op. cit., p. 115.

The explicit account in vv. 26-28 must be interpreted as meaning that "Yahweh did not confine his gifts to particular persons or classes."[31]

Finally, it should be noted that this is the only place in the Old Testament where the spirit of God is associated with Moses. The text seems to assume that he has the gift of the spirit. And again to be noted is the conjunction of word and spirit. Both v. 17 and v. 25 relate the giving of the spirit to Yahweh's speaking.[32]

Upon entry into the period of the judges and thus into the most active period of the twelve tribe league, we see in the persons of the individual tribal heroes, Othniel, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson,[33] the spirit of Yahweh joined more vitally than before to the salvation history.

---

[31] The word "prophet" does not fit well in the context unless Moses means to say, "Would that all the Lord's people prophesied . . ." in the same way that the seventy elders, Eldad and Medad "prophesied," as an external manifestation accompanying the gift of the spirit. There are no prophets elsewhere in this text, only elders who "prophesy." But this "prophesying" is not the "prophesying" of the classical prophets but is the translation of the word, יתנבאו which denotes some sort of violent conduct, perhaps "raving," as the same word is translated in I Kings 18:29. But if Moses did not mean "prophesying" by his use of the word "prophet," the only other explanation for the presence of the word is that it has been inserted later for the purpose of authenticating the ecstatic nebiim. Then there is left in this verse only Moses speaking well of the gift of the spirit and looking forward with anticipation to the day when all in Israel will receive it.

[32] Verse 31 relates how a wind of the Lord brought quails. The ruach in verse 26 is feminine in gender and has the article, in order to distinguish it from the ruach as wind which is masculine but anarthrous.

In the case of Othniel, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, (ותהי עליו רוח יהוה) and he judged Israel; he went out to war . . ." (Judg. 3:10). The verb is the same as was met in Numbers 24:2. The spirit of Yahweh grants the gift of military prowess in the case of the four judges, but this verse seems to indicate that not only courage and physical strength for war, but also the ability and wisdom necessary for judging the nation and for putting down idolatry, were considered to be gifts of the spirit.[34] Judges 6:34 uses an unusual verb: "But the Spirit of the Lord took possession of Gideon, (ורוח יהוה לבשה את-גדעון)." Literally translated, the verb is the common word for "to put on,"

---

[33] For the dating of Judg. 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14;6, 19; and 15:14 cf. Weiser, op. cit., pp. 149-153. Because the spirit of Yahweh is not found in the so-called "Deuteronomic framework," but in the body of the narrative in every case, and more especially, because the spirit of Yahweh is not found in every narrative (not found with Ehud, Shamgar, or Deborah), which should not logically be the case if it were an editorial insertion, the conception of the spirit of God is assumed to be contemporary with the narratives themselves which probably had their origin near in time to the actual events. cf. Jepsen, op. cit., p. 19, footnote 4, however, who believes that the spirit in Othniel is the D editor's addition.

[34] Keil, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950), p. 294.

"to wear," "to clothe," or "to be clothed."[35] The word possibly was used to indicate not only the violence of the spirit possession, for the spirit seized Gideon to drive him on to his feats of military prowess, but also the fact that the individual was used as an instrument or tool by the spirit of Yahweh.[36] The formula in 11:29 is the same as for Gideon, "Then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah (ותהי על-יפתח רוח יהוה)" where the verb, as in the other passages in Judges, is feminine. It has been suggested that the gift of the spirit of Yahweh was necessary for the legitimatization of these leaders in the eyes of Israel,[37] although this does not explain the position of leadership of

---

[35] The LXX translation, ενδύω , is used in Luke 24:49, "and behold I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high."

[36] BDB, *op. cit.*, p. 528, translates it, "And the spirit of Yahweh clothed itself with Gideon" and says in explanation, referring to George Foote Moore (no documentation), "took possession of him." Martin Buber, *The Prophetic Faith* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), p. 60, says: "His stormy breath, 'YHVH's *ruah*,' rushes upon His elect, seizes him, 'puts him on' (Judges 6,34), and his sword is henceforth the sword of YHVH Himself. . ." Jacob M. Myers, *I Chronicles* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), p. 97, translates the same verb (in this case used of Amasai in I Chron. 12:19) in another way and says: "'A spirit clothed Amasai' is a most significant conception of inspiration and revelation in the Old Testament . . . and may be a forerunner of the idea of incarnation." Maertens, *op. cit.*, p. 32, footnote 1, thinks the verb may refer to the idea of donning a suit of armor or a breastplate.

[37] H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), p. 216.

Ehud, Shamgar, and Deborah, unless it is to be assumed that they too were considered to have the spirit of Yahweh. The fact of their physical courage and military leadership was evidence, at least in the case of four of them, that they were possessed by the spirit of Yahweh, and as this served to authenticate them as leaders, it is correct to say that the spirit of Yahweh served as legitimatization. The spirit was the charisma granted for leadership in Israel.

With the entrance of Samson onto the stage of history we have to do with probably one of the most controversial figures, morally speaking, in the whole Old Testament. Four times the spirit of Yahweh is mentioned as on or in him, leaving no doubt that he was considered by the narrator to have been mightily used by God in the interests of the salvation history. Judges 13:25, after reporting the story of his miraculous birth, states that "the Spirit of the Lord began to stir him (ותחל רוח יהוה לפעמו) in Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol." The verb is used only four times elsewhere in the Old Testament, always with the meaning of "to trouble," (Gen. 41:8; Psalm 77:5; Dan. 2:1, and 3) and always in a context of insomnia or dreams.[38] Here it must mean a troubling of the spirit, an uneasiness which presaged the violent acts of physical courage which are to follow. The three passages, 14:6,19, and 15:14, all use the same formula: "and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him (רוח יהוה תצלח עליו)," the verb literally to "rush upon," indicating again the violent manifestations of the spirit's presence. As with the verb "clothe," it indicates that the spirit "used" Samson in a somewhat external manner rather than transforming him by working within him.[39] In each case Samson gives evidence of the presence of the spirit by, respectively, tearing a lion in two, smiting thirty men of Ashkelon, and breaking, like flax, fresh thongs used to bind him. But in each case, the interest does not lie in the act itself but rather in the fact that each incident becomes the occasion for a new encounter with the Philistines.[40] In this way, the narrator wishes to indicate that Samson is being used of God to free Israel from the yoke of the Philistines. As was also the case with the narratives involving Othniel, Gideon, and Jephthah, so here also if Israel is not delivered, if she must be continually subject to a heathen people, she can never be nurtured in faith and obedience to Yahweh. So even Samson, having been granted the charisma of the spirit, stood in the direct service of Yahweh as he carried out his will and purpose for his people.

---

[38] It is interesting to speculate about a connection between Gen. 41, Judg. 13, and Dan. 2. All three use this rare verb, all three have Wisdom elements (Samson only in the riddle) and all three are related to the spirit of God. In regard to Judges 13, it will probably have to remain in the realm of speculation.

---

[39] For the meaning of the verb see BDB, *op*. *cit*., p. 852. Westphal, *op*. *cit*., p. 54, sees a cleansing action in the coming of the spirit on the judges but there is no evidence in the text to support this view.

[40] Cf. Hertzberg, *op*. *cit*., p. 229.

How then should one summarize the activity and function of the spirit of Yahweh in the book of judges? First, it is always the spirit of Yahweh, which indicates that it is not an independent being but that it is rather Yahweh himself who is working in these early Israelite heroes. Second, the gift of the spirit of God to these men indicates that there is working in and through them the power of God which is made manifest both in the gift of wisdom for leading the people and courage and physical strength necessary for war. Third, the spirit works little if any inward change in the judges but rather uses them as tools or implements. Fourth, the element of domination is stressed in the working of the spirit on these men.[41] Fifth, the spirit serves as authentication of the rulers, similar to Numbers 11. But, unlike Num. 11, there is nothing in the text to indicate the ecstatic state. In this case, however, it was not necessary because the fact that the spirit of God was upon them became immediately evident in acts of physical strength, in their courageous bearing, in their wise decisions. In the judges, supremely, the spirit of Yahweh grants the charismata necessary for leadership. Perhaps it can be said that here again, at the inauguration of a new institution in Israel, the judges, it was the spirit of God that played the central role, making manifest to Israel who were to be her leaders, and empowering those leaders for their chosen task.

---

[41] Cf. Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 318.

The first book of Samuel continued and furthered the activity of the spirit that appeared in the period of the judges, showing that the former represents the transition between the period of the judges and the dynastic monarchy. This transition is represented in the persons of the charismatic kings, Saul and David, with whom the texts in I Samuel are exclusively concerned.[42] Strangely enough, in no text is the spirit of God related to Samuel. Although he is prophet (I Sam. 3:20; 9:9), priest (2:11; 2:18; 3:1a), and judge (7:3-14), the spirit is never connected with him. It is possible that the "word" (3:19-4:1a) took the place of the spirit as the authenticating charisma, or that, as his leadership was so obvious to all, the authentication by the spirit was not considered necessary, or that he was assumed to have received the spirit without its being explicitly stated, as appears to have been the case with Moses. Another explanation could be that he was considered chiefly a "minor judge" (7:15-17), which office was not stated to be charismatic (cf. Judg. 10:1-5; 17:7-15). Precisely which explanation is best is not indicated in the text and cannot be stated with any certainty.

---

[42] The relevant texts are 10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13, 14; 19:20, 23. For the dating of the first three cf. Weiser, op. cit., pp. 162-63. For 16:13 cf. Weiser, ibid., p. 167, and G. B. Caird, I Samuel in IB, Vol. II, pp. 965-66, where it is considered an early tradition which the editor later incorporated into his work. For 16:14 cf. Weiser, op. cit., pp. 163-64. Finally, 19:20, 23 admittedly presents many difficulties but rather than calling it a "late midrash," (cf. Caird, op. cit., p. 988) it seems preferable to consider it a misplaced and confused tradition. At any rate, its inclusion in this chapter is not only convenient, for in regard to its conception of the spirit of God it would be badly out of place in any other period, but also its inclusion or exclusion will neither add to, nor subtract appreciably from, the total results.

I Samuel 10:6 and 10 are part of the narrative describing the first anointing of Saul by Samuel. The chapter begins with the anointing (v. 1). Then Samuel explains to Saul, in connection with the asses which the latter is in search of, that he will meet a band of prophets who will be prophesying, accompanied by music:

> Then the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon
> you, and you shall prophesy with them (וצלחה עליך רוח
> יהוה והתנבית עמם), and be turned into another man. (v.6)

After further instructions in vv. 7-8, verse 9 continues:

> When he turned his back to leave Samuel, God gave
> him another heart; and all these signs came to pass

> that day. [10]When they came to Gibeah, behold a band of prophets met him; and the spirit of God came mightily upon him, and he prophesied among them. (ותצלח עליו רוח אלהים ויתנבא בתוכם).

It should be noted that the formula is the same here as it was for Samson in Judges 14:6, 19, indicating the same violent possession by the spirit, together with the unpredictability of its appearance.[43] However, there is added in the case of Saul the "prophesying" which was not present with the judges. Perhaps both the "prophesying" and the exhibition of military prowess described in 11:6 were necessary to convince the nation not only that Saul was to be their leader after the manner of the judges of a previous period, but that he was to be their king, inaugurating a new institution in Israel, the monarchy.

At first glance, it might be thought that the change of heart in Saul, whatever its meaning, was due to the action of the spirit; however, a closer scrutiny of the text will reveal that the change came after Samuel's instruction, but before Saul met the band of prophets. Perhaps it was thus considered to be a result of anointing, but at any rate one must wait until a later period for the inward activity of the spirit on a man, renewing and changing him in his innermost being. In the case of Saul, nothing more seems to be involved than an external authentication of him as ruler, and no essential change in the man can be ascribed as yet to the presence or the influence of the spirit of God.[44]

---

[43] Caird, *ibid*., p. 934.

The fact that "ruach Yahweh" is used in v. 6 and "ruach elohim" in v. 10 seems to bear no special significance. Except in special cases, one of which will be noted below in connection with 16:13-14, the terms seemed to have been used interchangeably with no significant change in the meaning or concept of ruach.

Finally, the interesting and rather mysterious exchange which took place between the persons who witnessed Saul's prophesying, in vv. 11, 12, "'Is Saul also among the prophets?' And a man of the place answered, 'And who is their father?'", shows not only that the people were aware of Saul's spirit possession, but also can be interpreted to mean that the spirit is not given according to birth, according to who one's father might be, but rather according to the free grace of God who gives this gift to whom he will.[45]

---

[44] Although Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 443, ascribes the change to the spirit of God, a change however not in an inward religious condition but a change from "the simple farmer's son of Gibeah" to the "leader of the national levy, conscious of his powers and authoritative in command . . ."

[45] Keil, The Books of Samuel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950), p. 104.

I Samuel 11:6 reads: "And the spirit of God came mightily (צלחה) upon Saul when he heard these words, and his anger was greatly kindled." He sets out to rally the men of Israel in order to aid Jabesh-Gilead, besieged by the Ammonites. The similarity to the accounts of the judges is unmistakable and has been mentioned above. "The suddenness of the onset of this divine power, the precipitancy with which it overmasters the human personality and the absolute control to which it subjects it"[46] are particularly evident. Aside from the fact that this was probably originally a separate narrative containing an account of Saul's selection as king different from 10:1ff., nevertheless, in the present text, in which chapter II follows Chapter 10, the second and different explanation of the charismatic coming of the spirit on Saul is still necessary, both to publicly confirm, as suitable, his selection as king, 10:20ff., but also to overcome, by an unmistakable manifestation of divine approval and support, the evident opposition to and censure of such a choice, 10:27, 11:12ff. I Samuel 11:6, as compared with 10:10, does not indicate a separate kind of spirit, but only that the coming of the spirit was characterized by various phenomena.

---

[46] Eichrodt, _Theology_, _op_. _cit_., p. 315.

I Samuel 16:13[47] uses the old terminology for the charismatic gift on David but with a new content and a new interpretation: "Then Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him in the midst of his brothers; and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward (ותצלח רוח-יהוה אל-דוד מהיום ההוא ומעלה)."

If there is any question here whether the charisma granted is to designate a prophet rather than a king, it is quickly answered by the observation that the context speaks of the search by Samuel for the new ruler, that anointing almost always designated a monarch but rarely if ever a prophet, and finally that the related passage, II Samuel 24:2, showed David as poet not as prophet. Nor does David "prophesy," neither here nor elsewhere. The spirit here designates the charismatic monarch.

Here for the first time the coming of the spirit is made the result of the anointing (without the "prophesying"), setting a pattern for the future, so that the visible phenomena such as "prophesying," those special external concomitant effects worked by the spirit which testified to the presence of the charismata, will no longer be considered necessary for authentication of the leader, but instead the divine election to leadership through the display of charismatic gifts is to be displaced by (or considered included in?) the divine election through the ritual of anointing. The free gift of the spirit has become institutionalized, programmed, and, as a result, it disappears for the time being from the monarchy, to reappear only in the Messianic age.[48] It is not in any way related to Solomon or to subsequent monarchs. This seems to be the point at which the spirit of God severs its connection with Israel's leaders, with whom it has been almost exclusively concerned in this present period, to appear in the following period on the prophets.

---

[47] Lys, op. cit., pp. 63, 169, 190-193, has become the prisoner of an extreme pattern of historical criticism when he dates this text to the post-exilic period, p. 169, footnote, and denies any original relation of the spirit to David. To him, the figure of David, including the gift of the spirit, has been fashioned by a post-exilic editor after the figure of the messiah in earlier messianic texts, p. 190-191. II Samuel 23:2 he also places in the same late period, overlooking its obvious pre-prophetic characteristics, cf. Section I of this present chapter.

It can further be observed that the continuing presence of the spirit with David is explicitly affirmed. This would seem to imply that the word צלח has previously indicated only a temporary or transitory presence of the spirit in the case of Samson, or Saul. Thus the connection with the charismatically chosen judges is maintained through the use of the same terminology, but the content is changed to mean a continuing and abiding possession. The fact that this is still the charismatic selection of a leader is further substantiated by the following verse, 16:14, which states that "the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him." The spirit of Yahweh which bestows the gifts necessary for leadership cannot be given to two men, both supreme leaders at the same time. Saul has been rejected by Yahweh, in 15:26, and, although he continues to rule with the name of king, yet, another man has, in fact, become king of Israel.

---

[48] Actually, this is the only OT passage that makes the gift of the spirit a result of the sacral anointing ceremony (Is. 61:1 must be considered metaphorical as well as eschatological). Anointing and the giving of the spirit are only loosely related in the O.T. account to show that the coming of the spirit is free and cannot be controlled by or contained in a liturgical act which would insure the coming of the spirit. God retains the power of giving the spirit as an act of his free grace. Cf. Westphal, _op_. _cit_., pp. 56ff.

The relation of this passage to II Samuel 23:2, examined above in the section on early poetry, must not be overlooked. Both have to do with David, one at the beginning and one at the end of his public life. II Samuel 23:2 underlines the statement of I Samuel 16:13 that the gift of the spirit on David was a continuing thing. It also shows that the charismata granted by the spirit extended beyond the divine designation of David as monarch to include also his gifts as a hymn writer.

The distinction between the spirit of Yahweh and the evil spirit mentioned in this passage (16:14ff.) was described above in Chapter IV. The evil spirit is not distinguished here by gender, for the feminine gender prevails throughout, but by terminology used and by the explicit statement of v. 14.[49]

The last passage to be considered in this period is the rather strange narrative in I Samuel 19:20-24. Saul sends messengers to capture David, but they meet a company of nebiim which has the result that the "Spirit of God came (ותהי רוח אלהים) upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied." This happened again to a second and a third group of messengers. Finally, Saul himself went to Ramah

> and the Spirit of God came (תהי) upon him also, and as he went he prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he too stripped off his clothes, and he too prophesied before Samuel, and lay naked all that day and all that night. Hence it is said "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (vv. 23b, 24)

Very little that is new is learned about the spirit of God from this passage. It represents an attitude, popular in Saul's day, in regard to the spirit, namely, that the coming of the spirit of God resulted in the ecstatic condition, or an abnormal condition called "prophesying" (v. 20, יתנבאו).

---

[49] Cf. Koch, op. cit., p. 39, footnote 28.

This is the only place where the condition is described in any way.[50] However it has been pointed out that ערם, γυμνός, does not always signify complete nudity, but is also used of a person with his upper garment off (cf. Isa. 20:2; Mich 1:8; John 21:7).[51] Thus the person would still be wearing the long linen tunic commonly worn next to the skin. The ecstatic condition is perhaps not as extreme a condition as might appear at first glance.

There is no evidence of the charisma here, and the passage only helps to explain the ecstatic condition enjoyed by the prophetic bands. It also indicates that others than the chosen leaders experienced this condition. Strangely enough, the spirit of God is never explicitly related to the nebiim although one can probably assume from this passage (or 10:9-10) that the popular view was that the ecstatic condition known as "prophesying" and associated with the _nebiim_ was due to the presence of the spirit of God.[52]

---

[50] Numbers 24:2 describes a sort of "ecstatic vision" and, in the absence of the word "prophesying" appears to be a completely different phenomenon.

[51] Keil, _Samuel_, _op_. _cit_., p. 177.

[52] It should be noted again (see page 15 , above) that the phenomenon of ecstatic _nebiim_ was not peculiar to Israelite society but the concept of the spirit of God and its association with these early Israelite _nebiim_ is completely unique in the Ancient Near East.

III. SUMMARY OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD

This early period being the only Old Testament period which was contiguous, in point of time, with the earlier non-Israelite antecedents described in Chapter II, it will be necessary at this point, along with summarizing the conclusions gained from the present chapter, to attempt to find the points of contact at which the earlier non-Israelite cultures touched the Israelite relition in regard to the spirit of God.

A. Comparison with Ancient Near Eastern Texts

The conclusion gained from a study of Ancient Near Eastern texts in Chapter II was that this literature contained two broad concepts which appeared to be in many ways similar to the Old Testament description of the spirit of God. The first of these was that of the divine wind which in Mesopotamia played a singular role in the creation myth but also functioned as a divine messenger or assistant, was scrutinized for beneficent omens, and in Egypt became a separate personified deity. The second concept was that of the divine breath of the gods which, at least in Egypt, was considered to be manifest both as the natural wind and as the breath in the nostrils of every creature. This divine breath, which had creative and life-sustaining power, thus joined together without distinction the divine world with the human and the natural realms.

A study of the Biblical texts from this early period shows that Israel, in being faithful to her own quite different origins, had points of contact with this pre-Israelite world but separated quite decidedly from it in certain crucial areas. It was noted in Chapter IV how already in the earliest texts the wind had lost its divine role and had become naturalized, functioning only in its usual manner as an ordinary element in the created world, although never separated from Yahweh's control. Only rarely does it have a place in texts which speak of Yahweh's saving acts, and even in these the minor role assigned to it and the fact that these are historical situations rather than mythical precludes any notion of a divine wind as it appeared in the mythologies of non-Israelite religions, and ensures the presence of the wind as nothing more than a created element in the natural world functioning in a way that is normal for the wind. The wind is not even present in the earliest creation texts.[53] It does not act as a divine messenger, serving to communicate the divine will, nor is it ever personified as a separate deity. The wind is never more than the natural wind, an element of the created world.

---

[53] Cf. _infra_, pp. 180 ff., for a discussion of Gen 1:2 and other related creation texts.

On the other hand it has been shown earlier in this chapter how, in Exodus 15:8,10, and II Samuel 22:16, the functions and role of the divine wind were taken over by the spirit of Yahweh, viewed metaphorically as his breath, inseparably joined to him, a part of his "body" as it were, and no longer free to act as a divinity in its own right. The divine wind does not appear in the Old Testament. It has been absorbed into the person of Israel's one creator and Lord, to reappear in these texts as his spirit, the unique manifestation of the divine power as it is active in the created world. It is Yahweh alone who acts on behalf of his people. The continuity with the earlier, pre-Israelite concept of the divine wind is not wholly lost but is readily suggested by the use of the word ruach, with its ambiguous meaning of wind, spirit, or breath. The Biblical writers, however, showed by other indications in the text that they meant to indicate Yahweh's spirit and not the wind.

The second concept prevalent in the Ancient Near Eastern texts, that of the divine life-giving breath present as breath in the nostrils of every creature and as wind in nature, finds no place in the Biblical texts of this period. Its nearest approximation is in Genesis 6:3, which together with the related text of Genesis 2:7, must be considered the transition texts of this period. But in the creation narrative in Genesis 2:7 (J), ruach is never mentioned, either as wind, as the breath of Yahweh, or as the breath in man, as if the writer were conscious of and purposely avoiding the non-Biblical idea of the breath of the gods present in every nostril, an idea which could have been readily suggested by the use of ruach. Nor does Genesis 6:3 serve as the point of introduction for entrance of this idea into Israel's literature. It was shown above in Chapter IV, not only that the unique spirit of God is not present in this text but, further, that the very meaning of the text militates against the idea of any continuity between the divine spirit and the spirit in man. The point of the text was that man cannot share in divinity in the manner that was perhaps suggested by the pre-Biblical myth which was used by the Biblical writer. The spirit in man is God's spirit in the sense that he is its creator and thus its possessor. The spirit in man as well as his breath is derived from God, its source, through creation and not through emanation. The divine breath, the spirit of Yahweh, does not pervade the universe as wind in the natural world or as breath in the nostrils of every creature. It must be concluded that the emphasis in the Yahwistic religion on the unbridgeable distance between the creator and his creation precluded the development in Israel of the idea of the breath of God as present in every nostril.

B. Origin of the Concept of the Spirit of God

As will be seen below, there is to be found no concept in Ancient Near Eastern literature which could have served as preparation for the spirit of God as it is described in the vast majority of Biblical texts from this earliest period. The spirit of God as it appears on the elders or on the judges, on Balaam or on Saul, is a completely new thing without parallel or similarity in any extant Ancient Near Eastern literature. But if it can be concluded that the spirit of God, as his unique power, was introduced to Israel in the event at the Reed Sea as it is related in Exodus 15:8,10, this text then can serve to describe the relation between the Biblical spirit of God and related concepts in surrounding Ancient Near Eastern countries as was done above; in addition, however, it provides valuable clues pointing to the origin of the concept of the spirit of God. That is to say, even though the spirit of God was revealed to Israel, Israel had been prepared for the understanding of this new thing by her acquaintance with the concept of the divine wind as it existed in the world into which Israel was born.

It has been argued by some scholars[54] that the spirit of God in the Old Testament was derived anthropomorphically: i.e., as man became aware of breath in himself, he attributed breath to God, in the same way that he attributed to God hands, face, etc. In time, as this breath in man came to be considered as spirit, so the breath of God in due time also became spirit. The theory, however, that the spirit of God was derived as an anthropomorphism has been shown to be an impossibility,[55] both because of the fact that breath (ruach) in man is a relatively late phenomenon in the Old Testament, but also because it always signifies that which is weak, precarious, and dependent in man,[56] and so for that reason could not have been attributed anthropomorphically to the Deity, at least by the Israel that is known from the Old Testament. Lys prefers to speak rather of a "theomorphism,"[57] expressing the fact that the idea of the ruach in man was derived from the prior concept of the ruach in God and not vice versa.

---

[54] Irving Wood, The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1904), p. 32-33; also by Koch, op. cit., p. 23.

[55] Cf. H. W. Robinson, The Christian Experience, op. cit., pp. 13-14. Lys, op. cit., p. 335, has shown that up until the exile the term ruach is used very sparingly with an anthropological reference, whereas the term in the ancient period has to do primarily with God and his activity. This also would seem to indicate that the source of the concept does not lie in an anthropomorphism.

[56] Cf. Lys, ibid., pp. 348 ff.

[57] Ibid., p. 57 and frequently.

Because of its obvious similarities to the pre-Israelite concept of the divine wind, it must be concluded then that Exodus 15:8,10, as the earliest appearance of the spirit of God (described metaphorically as his breath) in the Old Testament, points to the divine[58] wind as the pre-Israelite origin of the Old Testament concept of the spirit of God rather than to the life-giving breath of the gods. But by the time of even the most ancient Old Testament writings, the "divine wind" and its functions has been absorbed into the concept of the spirit of God as it was revealed to Israel at the crossing of the Reed Sea and in subsequent events in her history. The source of the concept of the spirit of God is found in the pre-Israelite idea of the divine wind, but under the influence of the monotheism evident in the covenant faith, what was the source has been substantially and fundamentally altered to become that which the Old Testament describes as the spirit of God.

---

[58] divine in the Mesopotamian culture in the sense that it existed and functioned in the divine realm as a special agent of the gods, but in Egypt as a divinity in its own right.

C. Linguistic Influences

The conclusions derived from a study of the etymology of the word ruach, whose antecedents are admittedly both sparse and obscure, scarcely prepare one for the sudden flowering of meaning, both in profundity and in range, which becomes immediately evident in the Old Testament. The most that can be said is that ruach in the Old Testament, the spirit of God, does not betray the original and basic meaning of "air in motion,"[59] but the significance added to the word by association with Yahweh and inclusion in the covenant religion is so profound as to make the pre-Old Testament meaning almost negligible in breadth or influence.

Finally, it appears to be true that just as the family of words related to "ruach" tended to develop meanings in the direction of "breath" rather than "wind" (perhaps under the influence of ruach and not vice versa),[60] so the ruach of God in the Old Testament has moved in meaning away from "wind" towards "breath," the breath of God as the means by which God enlivens and empowers his people.

---

[59] Cf. supra, p. 29.

[60] Cf. supra, p. 30.

D. Summary of the Earliest Texts

Turning to a summary of the conclusions reached in the exegesis of the texts of this earliest period, two statistical items can first be noted. The gender of the word ruach, when it is used of the spirit of God, is overwhelmingly feminine. In a few instances the gender cannot be determined, and it is masculine in II Sam. 23:2. The prevalence of the feminine gender may indicate a subordination of the spirit to Yahweh,[61] although it is also possible that there is no significance at all in the use of either gender. In regard to the article, no definite conclusions can be made because the use of the accompanying proper noun or pronoun precludes the article in every case except Num. 11:17, 25,26, where the article is present. Perhaps it was necessary there to distinguish ruach as the spirit from ruach as wind in v. 31, where it is anarthrous. But the use of the divine name or the divine possessive pronoun may be just as significant as the lack of the article (which cannot for that reason be indicated) for it shows how inseparably the spirit is joined to Yahweh in this period, and in itself serves to subordinate the spirit to Yahweh himself, the opposite of which would be indicated by the presence of the article. This leads directly into a discussion of the function and nature of the spirit of God as it is described in this period.

---

[61] Cf. E. Kautzsch, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), p. 392, #122m,o.

An ontological definition of the spirit of God is never given in the Old Testament nor will it be attempted here, but a description of the activity and functions of the spirit is not only possible but extremely appropriate. For this is always the way the Old Testament introduces the spirit. The work of the spirit in this early period forms a clear and unified picture. It is, above all, activity related to the covenant-based salvation history of the nation Israel. The spirit does not make any significant appearance until Israel itself is introduced onto the stage of history by Yahweh's glorious act of salvation at the Reed Sea. To be sure, the spirit of God is mentioned in Genesis 41:38. But this text reflects exactly the gift-giving conception of the spirit that is almost exclusively characteristic of this early period, which conception could only have developed from an event which took place posterior to the Exodus. It is possible to believe, then, that the spirit of God, the ruach pictured figuratively as the breath of his nostrils, was seen by Israel as playing the central role, as the saving strength and liberating power of Yahweh himself, which drove back the sea, in Exodus 15:8,10 (referred to in II Sam. 22:16). The full activity and meaning of the spirit was revealed to Israel in an unforgettable way as the charismata-granting power which fell on the chosen leaders of the infant nation with visible concomitant effects at each critical juncture of her early history under Yahweh's leadership: at the time of the choosing of the first leaders to assist Moses, during the era of the judges, at the institution of the monarchy, during the early beginning of the prophetic movement. It is usually a temporary rather than a permanent gift but continues as long as its presence is needed for the task toward whose accomplishment the gifts are granted. Not until David, who marks the transition into the next period, is there a definite indication that the gift of the spirit is permanent. The gift of the spirit is never in this period associated with the everyday life of an ordinary member of the congregation.[62] Nor is it ever recorded in this period that it changes a man inwardly.[63] Its chief function is gift-giving, enabling the leaders to guide, counsel, and save Israel in the time of her critical beginnings. Military prowess, superhuman feats of physical strength, wisdom in governing are all gifts of the spirit. And, moving as small eddies to the side of the main flowing stream, it is recorded of the spirit of God that it presented the gift of vision and leadership to Joseph (Gen. 41:38), prepared Balaam the soothsayer for the reception of a Yahwistic oracle, (Nu. 24:2), and inspired the poetic gift in David (II Sam. 23:2). But always there is the main flow that moved from Exodus 15 to Numbers 11, through the book of Judges to Saul, David, and the nebiim.

---

[62] Irving F. Wood, _op_. _cit_., p. 9.

[63] Cf. Koch, _op_. _cit_., p. 37.

Another eddy which persisted in popular thought was the concomitant effect known as "prophesying" or the ecstatic condition. Originally it was given to make visibly evident that without which it would be difficult, if not impossible, of comprehension: the presence of the spirit of God. The fact that ecstasy was not testified in the case of the judges or David, where it was not necessary for authentification, would seem to indicate that it was not meant to be inseparably joined to the gift of the spirit. But in the popular mind it came to be identified with the spirit, reflected in the account in I Samuel 19:20-23.

Finally there remains to be said what can be said about the nature of the spirit of God. In relation to God it is inseparably a part of him as evidenced by almost every text. Yahweh acts through his spirit. In no case does the spirit act apart from God. Nor is it a substance or an entity that has a free existence somewhere between God and man. On the other hand it is characteristically powerful, whether described in Exodus 15 where it is power exerted on nature, for the sake of Israel, or Numbers, Judges, and Samuel, where it is power granted to certain chosen individuals.[64] That it can not be coerced, compelled, or anticipated, is illustrated superbly by Numbers, 24:2, where, in the most unexpected situation, the spirit of God came on Balaam. So it must be power not at the disposal of man but only at the disposal of God, subject to his free and gracious will. It is God's power which dominates and possesses man, illustrated most admirably not only by the story of Balaam, but also in the verbs used, לבש, צלח .[65] Last of all, the ruach is a word used not to describe power as contained in God himself, but power as it is communicated in a relation between God and his creation. Those who are granted the gift of the spirit are not thus removed from society to enjoy in peaceful contemplation the ultimate essence of the divine being. On the contrary, they are in this way empowered for action in the midst of and for the sake of God's people.[66] Perhaps, then, the development in the meaning of the ruach family of words has paralleled, or has been influenced by, the development in the meaning of ruach as it signified the spirit of God: the spirit of God as power is dynamic and it is relational.[67]

---

[64] Cf. ibid., p. 36.

[65] Cf. W. Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 318.

[66] Cf. Eichrodt, ibid., p. 305: "the ecstatic effects of the spirit, as exemplified in their most striking exponents, in no sense entailed a mystical withdrawal, but were seen to be the means whereby mighty works might be done for the nation's God."

---

[67] Cf. supra, p. 29.

CHAPTER VI

FROM ELIJAH TO THE EXILE

With the abrupt entrance of Elijah into the royal court at Samaria (I Kgs. 17:1), a new and quite different phase of the spirit of God has been introduced. This period in Israel's history belongs above all to the great prophets who stood as Israel's conscience and witnessed to Yahweh's continuing love and impending judgment in Samaria and Jerusalem. Knowing the intense activity of the prophets during this period and having in mind the almost synonymous relation, spirit-prophecy, which existed in popular thought, one could logically assume that the spirit of God was not only mentioned frequently but also played a vital role in the events of this period. The actual situation, however, is quite different. The fact that the spirit of God was active in this period would have to be a conclusion reached more from theological than from exegetical considerations, for the outstanding characteristic of the nearly three centuries spanned by this period is the seemingly deliberate avoidance of the term "spirit of God." It is never found in the prophets Jeremiah, Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum and Habakkuk. In many of the texts where it is found, it appears to have been used very circumspectly.[1] An individual study of these texts will show what meanings were intended or avoided.

I. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

I Kings 18:12 presents the spirit in a strikingly new way. In the third year of the drought which came on the northern kingdom because of Elijah's word, Ahab, the king, and Obadiah, his god-fearing chamberlain, go through the land in search of water and grass for the animals. Obadiah meets Elijah on the way and is requested to go and report that fact to Ahab. Obadiah protests that it will mean his own life for "as soon as I have gone from you, the Spirit of the Lord will carry you (ורוח יהוה ישאך) whither I know not; and so, when I come and tell Ahab and he cannot find you, he will kill me although I your servant have revered the Lord from my youth."

If Obadiah were talking about "levitation," or mere transportation from one place to another,[2] "wind" would be the likely translation of ruach here, although a wind of hurricane proportions, or a whirlwind, would be called for, neither of which is indicated in the text. There is also no indication in the Old Testament that literal transportation of men by the wind was ever considered to be a possibility. II Kings 2:11, the translation of Elijah, certainly does not indicate any such popular opinion nor does it actually have to do with "levitation" or transportation in the ordinary sense of the word.[3] Obadiah has in mind something other than mere transportation. This God-fearing palace servant is thinking of a recurrence of Elijah's mysterious _disappearance_, cf. 18:10, which could only be attributed to Yahweh's absolute control over Elijah's person ("the _ruach_ _Yahweh_ will carry you whither I know not"). He knows that Elijah lives in complete service to Israel's Lord, cf. v. 10, "as the Lord _your_ God lives . . ." So the emphasis is hardly on the physical movement of the prophet from place to place but rather on the fact that _Yahweh_ can do with him as he wishes. Elijah, Obadiah says, is so completely at the disposal of God's will and power that nothing can guarantee his continuing to remain in this one place for any length of time. When so much more than mere physical transportation is meant here, including as it does the expression of Yahweh's personal and direct will and control in relation to Elijah, the translation must certainly be "spirit of Yahweh" rather than "wind."[4] The word "wind" could hardly serve to express the direct power and control which Yahweh exerts over Elijah, even more so in view of the Old Testament concept of the wind described above in Chapter IV. In the course of the Old Testament the wind is more and more separated from the salvation realm in which Yahweh reigns supreme, to be increasingly demoted to the realm where it functions only as a natural wind, or to be used metaphorically to express God's punishment or even the futility of man's existence.

---

[1] The texts from this period: Historical Writings, I Kgs 18:12; 22:24; II Kgs 2:16. Pre-exilic Prophets, Is. 4:4; 11:2,15; 30:1,28; 31:3; 32:15; Hos. 9:7; 13:15; Micah 2:7; 3:8.

[2] Cf. Volz, op. cit., pp. 3-4, who describes how Elijah is borne willy-nilly in a wild ride through the air by the ruach which he characterizes as "eine Art Sturmdämon." Volz believes that the divine name has been joined only secondarily to the ruach in these early passages, cf. p. 5.

---

[3] Cf. Keil, Kings, _op_. _cit_., p. 242.

---

[4] Against N. Snaith, The First and Second Books of Kings in IB, Vol. II, pp. 150-151, and R. C. Dentan, I and II Kings I and II Chronicles (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 60-61. Cf., however, Lys, op. cit., pp. 31-32, who understands ruach here as the spirit of God, also Jepsen, op. cit., p. 22, who, commenting on this passage and II Kings 2:16 says, "Noch gewaltsamer wirkt der Geist in Elia; zweimal wird die Befürchtung ausgesprochen, Elia könnte durch den Jahvegeist davongetragen, vielleicht sogar zerschmettert sein (I K. 18,12; II K. 2,16). Wer könnte sich auch widersetzen, wenn der Geist den Menschen treibt; willenlos muss man gehorchen." John Gray, I and II Kings (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 348, reads too much into the text when he sees, not the divine control over the person of Elijah, but rather the divine charismata mediated through the spirit of Yahweh: "The comings and goings of Elijah are related to the spirit of Yahweh (rūaḥ yhwh). This refers to abnormal activity. It might denote exceptional physical effort, as the running of Elijah from Carmel to Jezreel, where 'the hand of Yahweh' was upon him, or the prophet's exceptional astuteness in evading capture. It might refer more directly to the overmastering divine wisdom which made Elijah's escapes possible."

This translation of "spirit" is further substantiated by the fact that ruach yahweh only twice in the Old Testament has reference to wind, Isaiah 40:7, 59:19.[5] Otherwise, without exception in its frequent appearances, it means the spirit of God (sometimes expressed metaphorically as the breath of God). Finally, the fact that 18:46 speaks of a similar action of God exerted on Elijah, this time using "hand," shows that the power is more personally related to Yahweh than wind can be. It must be Yahweh's spirit.

This text emphasizes the powerful action of the spirit of God, controlling the activity of the prophet who stands in his service. Nevertheless, there is no indication that this control is more than an external control. The spirit handles Elijah like an object but nothing in the text indicates an influence on his inward being.[6] This text differs from Exodus 15:8 in the fact that even though both texts speak of the power of God exerted by means of his spirit, whereas in Exodus 15:8 the action was directed toward an inanimate object in nature, here the action is on man.

The narrative in I Kings 22 was referred to above in Chapter IV, Section III in connection with the discussion on the evil ruach. The passage which is relevant here is vv. 5-28, of which verse 24 reads "Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near and struck Micaiah on the cheek, and said, 'How did the Spirit of the Lord go from me to speak to you?' (אי־זה עבר רוח־יהוה מאתי לדבר אותך)." Some four hundred prophets have been summoned by Ahab to prophesy the word of the Lord regarding the outcome of the battle against Syria (vv. 5-6). Without exception they predict for Ahab a successful outcome. Such a unanimous and rosy declaration so confidently delivered does not satisfy Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, who has joined forces with Ahab. He inquires of Ahab whether there is not another prophet of the Lord[7] from whom they can receive an oracle of Yahweh (v. 7). Ahab is loath to call Micaiah, who evidently is not associated with the prophetic band and who regularly prophesies woe rather than weal for the king, but at the urging of the king of Judah Micaiah is ushered into the kings' presence where the four hundred prophets led by Zedekiah are prophesying and gesturing. Micaiah, at the urging of the messenger who summoned him, also prophesies victory, but the king, who is familiar with the oracles that Micaiah usually delivers, urges him to tell the truth. At this point Micaiah relates his vision of the divine council from which the lying spirit has been sent to put a false word into the mouths of the prophetic band. Zedekiah, after striking him, challenges him with the words quoted above, to which Micaiah replies that subsequent events will prove the Lord has spoken through himself but not through Zedekiah and the other prophets.

---

[5] For an explanation of these two passages see page 82, footnote 6.

[6] Cf. Lys, ibid., p. 32.

---

[7] The LXX omits "another."

It can be concluded from this passage, first of all, that it was a popular assumption that the prophetic word was inspired by the spirit of God. The prophetic band, through their spokesman Zedekiah, states as much in verse 24, "go from me to speak to you." Micaiah, in his narration of the vision, recognizes that those present assume that the spirit of Yahweh has spoken through the prophets, and only contradicts this belief to the extent of denying that this was the true spirit of Yahweh. The belief that the word is inspired by a spirit, even in the case of the "weal" prophets, is left standing. Finally the fact of his being challenged by Zedekiah shows that Micaiah is laying implicit claim to inspiration by the true spirit of God.[8] Thus this passage is important for showing that in the middle of the ninth century it was popularly assumed that the spirit of God not only occasioned the ecstatic state but that it also inspired the oracular word which the prophets declared. Thus far, no other passage has related the prophetic word to the spirit of God. It might be assumed that popular opinion related the spirit of God to the spoken prophetic word of the earlier prophetic bands as well as that of individual prophets such as Nathan or Adonijah, although this is nowhere so stated.

---

[8] Cf. Snaith, op. cit., p. 183.

A second conclusion to be drawn from this passage is that here for the first time there is an attempt to distinguish between true and false prophets, those who are inspired by the true spirit of God and those who are inspired by spirits other than the true spirit of God.[9] In narrating his vision Micaiah implicitly lays claim to the true spirit of Yahweh as the source of his own message while at the same time he denies that it is the spirit of Yahweh, but rather states that it is one of the attendant spirits in the divine council, that has inspired the four hundred prophets. Perhaps there is also meant to be a hidden censure of the ecstatic condition which in an earlier day was attributed to the influence of the spirit of God. Verse 10, in its use of the hithpael[10] form of the verb נבא , together with its statement that "all the prophets were prophesying before them" together, seems to suggest the babel of voices and the raving which characterized the ecstatic condition. Micaiah, the lone and rational prophet, stands in contrast to this scene, and in denying to the prophetic band the inspiration of the spirit of God, precludes also any connection between their "prophesying" and the true spirit of God.

---

[9] Cf. Dentan, op. cit., p. 69.

[10] Which usually, although not invariably, indicates the ecstatic condition rather than the proclaiming of the prophetic word, cf. BDB, op. cit., p. 612, and footnote above

Here for the first time, the spirit of God is clearly presented as the inspirer of the prophetic word.[11] Yahweh speaks to his prophet, and thus to his people, through the spirit.

II Kings 2:16 is similar to I Kings 18:12. Elijah has been carried to heaven by a whirlwind after which the sons of the prophets ask permission from Elisha to go in search of Elijah for "it may be that the spirit of the Lord has caught him up and cast him (פן נשאו רוח יהוה ושלכהו)

---

on p. 100 . Also on this *hithpael* form of נבא see Jepsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, who has noted that in this early period the *hithpael* form only means "to rave or to be mad," that it has been consciously distinguished from the *niphal* form which usually means to proclaim the word of Yahweh, and that I Kings 20:10,12 is an example of the conscious distinction in usage between the two forms. See also his chart on p. 8.

[11] For even though the spirit and prophets are spoken of together in the cryptic words in Num. 11:29, yet in reality they were elders that were chosen and no mention is made of the prophetic word, only "prophesying" (יתנבא).

upon some mountain or into some valley." As was the case with I Kings 18:12, the reference is not to "levitation" but rather to the absolute control exerted over Elijah by the will and the power of Yahweh. The translation "spirit" rather than "wind" seems even more certain here than in 18:12.[12] In 2:1 and 2:11 it is the whirlwind, סערה , that carries Elijah to heaven, a word frequently associated with Yahweh and his theophany (Cf. Ezek. 1:4) but unambiguous in its meaning of wind, whirlwind, or tempest. If the reference in 2:16 were to the event of Elijah's translation and to the meaning of "wind," the word סערה would have been used. But wishing to speak of the spirit of Yahweh, they were forced to use the ambiguous word ruach. But the meaning is "spirit of Yahweh."[13] The remarks made above in regard to 18:12 apply equally well here.

---

[12] Although Scheepers, op. cit., p. 128, sees a strong wind here and in I Kings 18:12. Gray, op. cit., p. 426, sees, with some insight, that it might "refer to the ecstatic experience of Elijah" under the influence of which he may have been injured in a fall into a ravine or exposed to hunger and thirst. This interpretation emphasizes the idea of divine control over the person of Elijah advocated above but as in 18:12 (see footnote 4 above) seems to read too much into the text.

[13] Actually, II Kgs 2 is full of interesting allusions. In addition to the whirlwind, סערה , related to the Akkadian word for the divine wind, šaru, mention is also made of the ruach of Elijah in regard to which Elisha wishes to become his spiritual heir (2:9 and 2:15). The manifestation of the

II. THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

Isaiah 4:4[14] immediately ushers in a new role for the spirit, participation in the new age, for 4:2, the verse beginning this literary unit, sets the time as "in that day." Following hard on the denunciations and judgment declared in Isaiah 3:13-4:1, the prophet abruptly introduces his listener to a future day (v. 2) in a purified Jerusalem "when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning," ברוח משפט וברוח בער. The verse undoubtedly is related to Chapter 3, the filth (literally, human excrement) of the daughters of Zion referring to sins of the women of Jerusalem (3:16-24) and the bloodstains of Jerusalem to the iniquities of the elders and princes (3:14, 15).[15] The ruach of judgment and

---

spirit of Elijah (v. 8), which Elisha is considered to have inherited when he parts the waters of the Jordan (v. 14), seems to be an allusion to the dividing of the waters of the Reed Sea by the ruach of Yahweh (Ex. 15:8, 10).

[14] For the authenticity of Isaiah 4:4; 11:2, 15; 30:1, 28; 31:3; 32:15, cf. Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 66, footnote 1.

[15] Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, Vol. I (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), p. 154. "Bloodstains" need not be limited to actual murder but can refer to political and social crimes, cf. Ezekiel 7:23ff., 22:6ff., or 22:25ff. The figure of a wild beast killing its prey is used in 3:14b ("devoured", "spoil"), an attack which normally would leave bloodstains. So the same figure of speech has been carried over into 4:4.

of burning must refer to the spirit of God, for wind cannot cleanse or wash,[16] and the spirit in man has neither the authority nor the power to carry out such a judgment.

The "branch" (צמח) in verse 2 identifies the future age of verses 2-6 as the messianic age (cf. Jer. 23:5, 33:15, Zech. 3:8, 6:12, Ps. 132:17).[17] In the messianic kingdom the messianic king will reign, v. 2a; nature will become wonderfully fertile, v. 2b; the remnant left in Jerusalem will have been purified and made holy, v. 3; and Yahweh himself will dwell in their midst, vv. 5-6. But the syntactical construction, אם at the beginning of verse 4, makes verse 4 the prelude to the situation described in vv. 2,3,5,6. It is necessary for the Lord to purify the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants as preparation for the advent of the messianic kingdom, in order that the remnant can be called holy, and can endure the presence of the glory of God on Mt. Zion without perishing.

---

[16] against Koch, _op_. _cit_., p. 146, and R. B. Y. Scott, _The Book of Isaiah_ in IB. Vol. V, p. 195. But cf. Delitzsch, _op_. _cit_., p. 155; G. B. Gray, _The Book of Isaiah_ (New York: Scribners, 1912), p. 80; Volkmar Herntrich, _Der Prophet Jesaja_ (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1950), p. 71; John Mauchline, _Isaiah 1-39_ (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 76, and many others for the meaning of "spirit of God." John Skinner, _Isaiah_ (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 31, describes _ruach_ aptly as "divine energy."

[17] Cf. Herntrich, _loc_. _cit_., and Mauchline, _loc_. _cit_. It is von Rad who has pointed out that Isaiah has pictured the messianic kingdom in terms of a _polis_, _Old Testament Theology_ (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), Vol. II, p. 150.

The spirit of God is to be the instrument which Yahweh uses for this purification. Yahweh must cleanse Jerusalem from the crimes of her leaders and the wantonness and pride of her inhabitants by his spirit which judges, condemns, and purges. The "judgment" (משפט) refers to a legal decision[18] and indicates condemnation by the holy spirit of Yahweh. The "burning" (בער) suggests purging and extermination, cf. Deut. 13:6 (MT), I Kings 22:47 (MT), and Isaiah 6:13. It is not an annihilation of Jerusalem's inhabitants, however, but rather an extermination of evil and the resulting sanctification of the people, preparing them for life in the messianic kingdom in the presence of Yahweh.[19]

The spirit in this passage is closely identified with Yahweh, for it is Yahweh himself that cleanses. The spirit here indicates more than divine power, suggesting rather

---

[18] Cf. Georg Fohrer, Das Buch Jesaja, kapitel 1-23 (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1960), p. 74.

[19] Herntrich, loc. cit., emphasizes the fact that it is God's work because it is God's spirit. Fohrer, loc. cit., in a mixed metaphor that matches that in the text, says that God will cleanse away the sins of the city by burning in the manner of a burnt offering, in order to make the remnant cultically pure and acceptable to God.

Yahweh's anger and passionate opposition to the evil which separates his people from his holy presence. This passage shows, for the first time, the spirit accomplishing an inward transformation in men. It also shows the spirit to be holy, that is, characterized ethically. It also joins the spirit to the covenant, both the royal covenant, v.2, and the Sinaitic covenant, v.5, "cloud," "smoke," "flaming fire," "glory." But the whole passage, including the purifying work of the spirit, is only an anticipation of the future.

Isaiah 11:1-9, like Isaiah 4:2-6, also refers the work of the spirit to a future messianic age. The coming of the future Davidic king, sprouting from a dynasty which has previously been cut off (v. 1, "stump of Jesse"), will mark the advent of a reign characterized by justice and a righteous judgment, vv. 3b-5, and a paradisical realm whose features recall the original paradise existing before the Fall, vv. 6-9.[20] But at the center of the picture stands the ruler blessed by the spirit of God:

> And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him
> ונחה עליו רוח יהוה
> the spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> the spirit of counsel and might,
> the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.
> (Is. 11:2)

---

[20] Herntrich, op. cit., p. 209 sees a relation between Gen 1:2 and Is. 11:2 in that the restoration of paradise in 11:6ff. is a consequence of the presence of the spirit on the Messiah.

In this one verse are gathered up all the riches that God has at his disposal, to be bestowed through the spirit on the new David.[21] All of the various gifts bestowed in other days on scattered individuals for the temporary performance of a God-given task are now to be granted to the messianic king as a permanent and never-failing gift. The spirit of wisdom (חכמה) and understanding (בינה) is reminiscent of the effects of the spirit of God in Joseph, the model ruler, who was discreet (נבון) and wise (חכם), Genesis 41:39.[22] The spirit of counsel recalls the spirit which "rested" on Moses and the elders (Num. 11). The spirit of might (גבורה) is the same effect of the spirit that came suddenly and violently on the judges and on Saul.[23] Is the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the

---

[21] J. A. Alexander, Isaiah (New York: Scribners, 1851), p. 163, says, "The genitives do not denote qualities but effects of the Spirit . . . This is evident from the last clause, where the fear of Jehovah cannot be an attribute of his Spirit, but must be a fruit of his influence."

[22] McKane, op. cit., p. 110, says that "the ideal Davidic king is portrayed in the vocabulary of wisdom as a sage. His wisdom is to derive from a charismatic endowment (the rūach of Yahweh will rest upon him) and is associated with piety (even legal piety). . .the fear of Yahweh . . ."

[23] Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 309, suggests that the fact that the warrior traits were included in the picture of the Savior Prince shows that these men, the early judges, were considered instruments of Yahweh's dominion and genuine participants in the salvation history.

Lord supposed to represent the special gift given David by the spirit of God (cf. II Sam. 23:3, "ruling in the fear of the Lord")? The charisma of the spirit had failed from the time of Solomon and throughout the Davidic line at least up to the time of the prophet Isaiah. This could mean that the king no longer subjected himself to Yahweh, the supreme monarch. But now the gift of the spirit is to be renewed in fullest measure on the new David. The giving of the spirit with such a plethora of gifts can only mean that Yahweh is in reality to be the leader and king, and that the Davidide only rules by virtue of the divine charismata bestowed through the spirit.[24]

It should be noted that here for the first time the spirit is given permanently on an individual. Also, for the first time, the gift of piety, or faith, which is to "know" the Lord and to fear him, is attributed to the spirit of God. So an inner transformation takes place together with the external bestowing of capabilities. Again, even though the spirit is a gift and cannot be compelled, yet now the violent "possession" of a man by the spirit has disappeared. It is being replaced by the calmer "rest upon." But finally, it is to be remembered that this activity of the spirit of God was not realized in Isaiah's time but was only seen by him as a vision of the future. The coming of the new age is to be characterized above all by the presence of the spirit of God with the messianic ruler.

---

[24] Cf. Koch, op. cit., p. 76. G. E. Wright, The Rule of God (New York: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 100-105, traces the history of God's rule through charismatic leadership in Israel as evidenced by the gift of the spirit to Moses, Joshua, the judges, David, the prophets, and finally to both leaders and people in the new age.

In Isaiah 11:15 the prophet has in mind Yahweh's action against the Reed Sea (Ex. 15:8-10),[25] although he preserves more the imagery of II Samuel 22:16 (Yahweh's anger is directed against the Egyptians in Ex. 15:7, but against the waters in II Sam. 22:16) in describing a new Exodus when Yahweh will lead home the remnant of his people from Assyria, from Egypt, and from every nation (v. 12).

> 15 And the Lord will utterly destroy the tongue of the sea
>   of Egypt;
>   and will wave his hand over the River with his
>   scorching wind, בעים רוחו
>   and smite it into seven channels that men may cross
>   dryshod.
>
> 16 And there will be a highway from Assyria
>   for the remnant of his people,
>   as there was for Israel when they came up from the
>   land of Egypt.

---

[25] Note that in Exodus 15, also, both the hand and the ruach of Yahweh are present, cf. vv. 8,10,12, as well as in Isaiah 31:3, where there is again a reference to Egypt, if not also to the actual Exodus event, in 31:3b. Why should there not be found the same category of ruach in Is. 11:15 as there is in 31:3, the category of power translated by "spirit?" Yet no one finds difficulty in translating ruach in 31:3 by "spirit," even though the basic meaning is power. There should be even greater reason for interpreting ruach in Exodus 15:8,10

The meaning of the hapax legomenon, עים , is uncertain, although the conjectured meaning is "hot," while the LXX prefers to read it עצם .[26] As in II Samuel 22, the meaning of "ruach" is not "wind"[27] but "spirit," (viewed metaphorically as breath) as evidenced by the fact that it stands side by side with "hand," an anthropomorphism with which only "breath" or "spirit" can suitably stand parallel.[28] Of course, ruach allows the ambiguity of meaning in the direction of wind, but in this verse where the action is spoken

---

as Yahweh's spirit after the pattern of Isaiah 31:3, for in both cases the real opponent is Egypt which can be no match for Yahweh's power.

[26] For a discussion of this word, cf. Franz Delitzsch, Isaiah, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 292, and H. Hummel, "Enclitic mem in Early Northwest Semitic, Especially Hebrew," Journal of Biblical Literature, 76(1957), p. 95-96.

[27] Against Koch, op. cit., p. 145, who sees only the natural wind here, and D. Otto Procksch, Jesaia I (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlags, 1930), p. 159, who reads "wind" but strikes it as a gloss.

[28] Cf. Lys, op. cit., pp. 82-83. Ruach is an anthropomorphism in one sense of the word, but not really one, Lys explains, because one cannot describe God on the model of a man, for whom the breath is essentially precarious and feeble. Lys prefers the term "theomorphism."

It should also be borne in mind that by the time of Isaiah the process of demotion of the wind, begun already in the oldest texts, has progressed to the extent that Isaiah only speaks of the wind, figuratively or literally, as a created natural element (cf. ibid., pp. 77-79). To be sure, there is a mythological allusion lurking in the background, the Sea and the seven-headed dragon, but this is even more reason to think that Isaiah, in order to avoid possible of as accomplished by Yahweh himself with no agent assisting (v. 15a), or by his "hand" (v. 15b), in action against the river, it seems preferable to interpret בעים רוחו to mean a psychological emotion rather than an instrument, meaning that he acted in hot anger for the sake of his people.[29] The parallel passage, therefore, is II Samuel 22:16, where the ardor of his anger is expressed, perhaps similar to "in the heat of my spirit" (Ezek. 3:14).[30] Ruach here is an emotion, a powerful emotion, an emotion which find expression in Yahweh's action against the water in the salvation of his people.

In Isaiah 30:1, Yahweh, through the prophet, denounces an alliance with Egypt formed probably against Sennacherib:

---

confusion with the mythological wind, had in mind "spirit," "breath" or "anger" rather than "wind." The subtle play on words would still not be lost on his listeners, even as his not uncertain monotheism would be fully evident.

[29] Cf. Fohrer, op. cit., p. 156, who translates, "in der Machtfülle seines Geistes . . ." and T. K. Cheyne, The Prophecies of Isaiah (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1880), p. 77, who translates "his violent blast." Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 292, with B. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1914), p. 86, leaves the issue undecided with "heat of His breath."

[30] This interpretation also eliminates the difficulty posed by the concurrence of hand and wind, if ruach is to be translated wind. Why should Yahweh need or use wind as a duplicate weapon when his hand alone is sufficient elsewhere? Translating בעים רוחו as an adverbial phrase describing how he waved his hand eliminates this difficulty. The various readings suggested for בעים can all be used in this interpretation with little change in meaning for the phrase. It is possible to say, "in the power of his anger," "in the heat of his anger," or with Hummel, loc. cit., "his anger boiling up."

1 "woe to the rebellious children," says the Lord,
"who carry out a plan, but not mine;
and who make a league, but not of my spirit, (רוחי)
that they may add sin to sin;

2 who set out to go down to Egypt,
without asking for my counsel . . ."

With the death of Sargon, king of Assyria, in 705, Judah became involved in diplomatic discussions with Egypt concerning a proposed alliance, (v. 1, "plan" "league") which would have as its purpose revolt against Assyrian domination. The political leaders of Judah, including Hezekiah, evidently know already of Isaiah's opposition to their plan which calls for a policy of political and military dependence on Egypt.[31] Therefore, they have not consulted with him, v. 2, which, Isaiah says, is equivalent to acting without having received counsel from Yahweh. Yahweh wished to guide Israel in her foreign policy probably through counsel furnished by the prophet,[32] and Israel's unwillingness to listen to, or even to consult, Yahweh's oracle is seen as rebellion against the guidance of Yahweh, cf. "rebellious children."

The meaning of spirit in v. 1, however, cannot be decided alone from verse 2, as if verse 2 were merely a restatement of verse 1. At least three meanings of ruach in v. 1 are possible and all must be considered. 1. ruach may refer to prophetic inspiration, readily suggested by v. 2.[33] In this case ruach would be the spirit that is the source of the prophetic message, the inspirer of Isaiah's words of counsel which Israel refuses to heed. This meaning is most readily suggested by the conjunction of verses 1 and 2, but it can be objected that never elsewhere does Isaiah speak of the spirit as being the source of inspiration for his own or other prophetic oracles, mention of the spirit as the source of the prophetic message being extremely rare in this period.[34]

---

[31] Cf. Elmer Leslie, Isaiah (Nashville: Abingdon, 1963), p. 74.

[32] Cf. Is. 37:1ff., I Kgs. 22:5ff., II Kgs. 3:11ff., or

2. ruach may mean the will or mind of Yahweh as in Is. 40:12.[35] This meaning would seem to be substantiated by the parallelism, "mine. . .my spirit," in which the spirit of God appears to be a part of the divine being: "more innermost than the power of the divine essence."[36] This would give the line the meaning that the alliance with Egypt is not

---

Jer. 38:14ff., for occasions when the ruling authorities sought counsel from Yahweh through a prophet.

[33] So interpreted by Duhm, op. cit., p. 190, Procksch, op. cit., p. 385, Eduard König, Das Buch Jesaja (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1926), p. 270, and McKane, op. cit., p. 71, footnote 1.

[34] Cf. infra, p.170 ff.

[35] So interpreted by Jepsen, op. cit., p. 16, footnote 4, and by Fohrer, op. cit., pp. 86-7, who translates it, "die nicht in meinem Sinne sind," and comments, "Darum schmieden sie Pläne der dem Willen des weltmächtigen Gottes nicht entspricht, weil er andere Absichten im Sinne hat."

[36] W. Eichrodt, Theologie des Alten Testaments (Göttingen:

according to Yahweh's will. The principal objection to this interpretation, however, is that it is a usage extremely rare in the Old Testament and, again, is never used elsewhere by Isaiah of Jerusalem.

3. ruach may mean, finally, power. It was not by the power of Yahweh that Judah had concluded the alliance with Egypt. True enough, this interpretation is not readily suggested by the immediate context. But it is a noteworthy fact that in similar contexts elsewhere where Egypt is involved, it is the power of Yahweh that is contrasted with the weakness of Egypt, most noticeably in 31:1-3, but also in 11:15. Furthermore, the power aspect of ruach is a concept which is present in most other passages where Isaiah uses ruach, 4:4, 30:28, 32:15. It might seem, judging from the prophet's frequent use of this concept, that this is the meaning he has in mind for ruach here.

In spite of the weight of evidence for the third alternative, however, the meaning of ruach must be ultimately decided by the immediate context. If 1b and 1c are parallel, the meaning of ruach then will be decided by the parallel member, מני . If the plan that Israel is implementing is said to be "not from me," it is not impossible that this can

---

Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), Teil II, p. 25, "tiefer als die Macht göttlichen Wesens."

mean that it is not empowered by Yahweh, but it is far more obvious, and so preferable, to take it to mean that the plan itself did not come from Yahweh. Consequently, if the parallel line, v. 1c, is a rephrasing of v. 1b, as it appears to be, then Isaiah is saying that the alliance also did not come from Yahweh, it was not his will, but is quite contrary to what he had in mind for Israel.

If this interpretation is correct, Isaiah is using ruach here to mean the center of volition and intelligence in Yahweh himself, a meaning found only rarely in the whole Old Testament.[37]

Isaiah 30:28 introduces, for the first time, Yahweh's ruach as wrath directed against the nations:

> 27 Behold, the name of the Lord comes from far,
>   burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke;
> his lips are full of indignation,
>   and his tongue is like a devouring fire;
>
> 28 His breath רוחו is like an overflowing stream
>   that reaches up to the neck;
> to sift the nations with the sieve of destruction. . .

Verses 27-28 stand isolated as a literary unit, having no readily discernible relation with what goes before or after. Leslie would join verse 30 with 27-28, and relating the unit to 30:17, comments, "the prophet uses the imagery of a thunderstorm as the vehicle of the Lord's judgment on Assyria."[38]

---

[37] Cf. infra, pp. 322-3.

[38] Op. cit., p. 78.

Fohrer relates vv. 27-28 more cogently to 8:7-8, where Assyria is pictured as destroying Ephraim under the same figure of the powerful, overflowing stream, or to 28:2, where both the thunderstorm and the raging torrent are used to describe Assyria.[39]

Yahweh's ruach cannot mean wind here,[40] both because it stands as one of a series into which wind would not fit (name, nose, lips, tongue, breath,) but also because it is likened, not only to wind (v. 28c), but also to a stream (v. 28b).[41] As in 11:15, the ruach is the anger of Yahweh,[42] here directed against the nations, but standing as close to him as his name, nostrils, lips, or tongue, all of which are used to express

---

[39] Op. cit., pp. 107-108

[40] Against Koch, op. cit., pp. 145-6, who sees only the natural wind here.

[41] Hitherto, ruach has always stood in opposition to water, a position which hinted at the ancient opposition in the creation myths between the divine winds and the primeval waters. Here, for the first time, water is used as a figure to describe ruach, thus suggesting a further demythologization in the abandonment of that rivalry, cf. Lys, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

[42] Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 40, says that these verses describe Yahweh as a man whose "breath is a snorting that threatens destruction, which when it issues from Jehovah swells into a stream, which so far covers a man that only his neck appears as a visible half." Scott, op. cit., p. 336, says that there is here the "double suggestion of an angry person and a storm."

Yahweh's action in power and in anger at a distance. The reason for the chastisement of the nations is not given.

Isaiah 31:3 is the text most frequently used in defining the nature of ruach. In spite of that, however, it is only defined by contrast with the Egyptians with their military might, and with flesh (בשר), and not directly in relation to Yahweh:

> The Egyptians are men, and not God;
> and their horses are flesh, and not spirit (רוח).

The verse means, as 31:1 makes clear, that that which is generally considered to be strong, that on which Israel is placing its reliance, namely, Egyptian military power,[43] is really weakness because it is not inspired by the only source of strength which exists, the spirit of Yahweh. The antithesis is not between flesh and spirit in the sense of corporeality vs. spirituality, but between power, which characterizes God and his ruach, and weakness, which is the fundamental characteristic of man as he stands apart from the spirit of God.[44] Thus ruach appears to be defined in terms of divine power.

---

[43] For the historical background related to this text see the exegesis of 30:1, above. Note also how the hand of Yahweh can be used as an alternate expression to signify Yahweh's power, 31:3cd.

[44] Cf. E. Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament (New York: Harpers, 1958), p. 41, and also Imschoot, "L'action de l'esprit", op. cit., pp. 581-582.

Two things must be noted about this verse. One, ruach cannot be interpreted as either a substance or an entity standing apart from God. Both by the parallelism with "God" in v. 3a and through the explanatory sentence in v. 3 cd, "when the Lord stretches out his hand, the helper will stumble and he who is helped will fall," it is indissolubly related not only to divinity but also to Yahweh himself in his activity. It can be said that there is no ruach but God's ruach, whether it be in man, in creation, or in heaven. Thus the ruach in 31:3 is not a general word for "power." It is power only because it partakes of and stems from the source of all power, God himself. In other words, ruach can only be used to mean power because it is Yahweh's ruach, as this passage says.

On the other hand, even though ruach can be said to be characteristic of God as basar is of man, yet the prophet is not yet able to say, God is spirit. In the equation in verse 3, just as Egyptians are not equivalent to horses, so also God is not equivalent to ruach. Absolute identity between God and spirit cannot be derived from this verse, nor can God be defined by ruach. The most that can be said is that "spirit," ruach, is only to be found in God and is only derived from him, plus the inverse, that man has no ruach in himself but can only receive it as a gift from God.

Isaiah 32:15 shows that for the prophet, a central role will be played in the new age by the spirit of God:

> 15 until the Spirit is poured out on us from on high,
> עד־ערה עלינה רוח ממרום
> and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field,
> and the fruitful field is deemed a forest.
>
> 16 Then justice will dwell in the wilderness,
> and righteousness abide in the fruitful field.
>
> 16 And the effect of righteousness will be peace,
> and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever.

Verses 15-20, at first glance, appear to stand like a disconnected appendage to verse 14 and the section that precedes it. But the passage should probably be considered a continuation of the description of the future age described in verses 1-5,[45] a description which has been interrupted by the denunciation of existing evils, verses 6-14. The section 15-20 neatly ties together both verses 1-5 and 6-14. The era of the king ruling in righteousness and justice, v. 1, will coincide with the giving of the spirit and the resulting reign of righteousness and justice, vv. 15-17. This will serve to correct the existing injustices denounced in verses 6 and 7. The fruitful field and the miraculous rejuvenation of nature will be the reversal of the poor harvests and neglected fields of verses 10 and 13, which calamities have come on the nation as punishment for social crimes, oppression, and unbelieving complacency. The nation abiding "in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting places," v. 18, is a direct response to the judgment pronounced on Jerusalem, "the joyful city," in verse 14. Although not directly so stated, it can probably be assumed that the king of v. 1 is a future Davidide, because the city of verses 13-14 is almost certainly Jerusalem. The denunciation of the "women" and "daughters" in verses 9-11 also recalls the similar denunciations of the "daughters of Zion" in 3:16,24, with a similar desolation of the capital city, 3:26. Finally, the "eyes" and "ears" which are to be open, v. 3, recalls the heavy ears and closed eyes of a condemned people described in 6:10, but left with the promise of a righteous remnant and a holy ruler, 6:10. So with this abundance of references to a future Davidic messiah in Chapter 32, and the connections established between 15-20 and the rest of the chapter, it can probably be concluded that the pouring out of the spirit will take place in the future messianic age mentioned in v. 1.

---

[45] So Koch, *op*. *cit*., p. 154.

The spirit of God as the only giver of life, bestows new life in every realm after the destruction and death, the annihilation and desolation, spoken of in 32:9-14. Destruction comes "in little more than a year" (v. 10); the renewal coming from the pouring out of the spirit is placed in the indefinite future.

Nature is to be renewed. This represents not just an increase in fertility but a transformation from a wilderness to a fertile field.[46] Just as all of creation received the gift of life from God through the spirit in the beginning, and just as nature must suffer along with man because of man's sin(vv. 10-14), so nature again will share in the renewal of creation which comes with the pouring out of the spirit. It will not be limited to a "spiritual" renewal. Nevertheless, the emphasis in this passage is on the renewal of the nation, "poured upon us." The results of the renewal of the society of Israel will be justice, righteousness, peace, quietness and trust forever. It is the return of paradise.

At this point it is necessary to emphasize that "physical" life and spiritual life are not strictly distinguished here. The spirit of God as the giver of life gives physical and spiritual renewal blended together. This is particulary noticeable in v. 16 where there is joined justice and wilderness, righteousness and a fertile field. Gen. 3 has shown that they cannot be sharply distinguished in regard to the results of sin. This passage shows that the new life inspired by the spirit cannot be sharply divided into the categories "physical" and "spiritual," or "man" and "nature." All life comes from the spirit.

---

[46] Cf. Koch, ibid., p. 147.

This second creation, the bestowal of a new life, can only come when the spirit is "poured out." The verb is not meant to indicate the nature of the spirit, as if it were a substance like water,[47] for the suffering servant "poured out his soul to death" (53:12). It only means that the spirit is given in its fullness and in great abundance as if God emptied out his inexhaustible power on the nation.[48] The ways between God and his people will be opened wide.

Finally, it is necessary to observe that the vision, no matter how glorious and in advance of its time, is still limited. Only Israel is to enjoy the life-giving advent of the spirit ("on us," v. 15). Assyria is excluded and will be destroyed (v. 19).[49] And it is the nation as a community, not yet the individual, that receives the working of the spirit. But here, as in Isaiah 4:4, we have an inward moral renewal effected in the ordinary people of the nation and attributed to the spirit of God.[50]

---

[47] Cf. Skinner, op. cit., p. 244, who says, "the spirit conceived as a subtle essence descending upon and then permeating the human world, is said to be 'poured out'. . ."

[48] Cf. Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 53.

[49] Cf. F. Delitzsch, op. cit., Vol II, p. 53, who says that the forest of v. 19 is Assyria according to Is. 10:34 and the hail is one of the forces destroying Assyria (30:30-31).

[50] Cf. Scott, op. cit., p. 345, "the pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit will enable men to obey the moral demands of God."

By way of summary of the passages, Isaiah 4:2-6, 11:1-9, and 32:15-20 with their respective contexts, it is interesting to note five elements present, with some variation, in all three: the future advent of a Davidic ruler, the judgment against unrighteousness, the institution of an era characterized by righteousness and justice, the coming of the spirit, and the miraculous renewal of nature.

Hosea 9:7 mentions the spirit only obliquely:

7 The days of punishment have come,
the days of recompense have come;
Israel shall know it.
The prophet is a fool,
the man of the spirit is mad,
משגע איש הרוח
because of your great iniquity
and great hatred.

8 The prophet is the watchman of Ephraim . . .

Two main interpretations are possible for this text. One interprets it to mean that the prophet, after announcing the impending judgment, goes on in vs. 7c(1) to denounce the *nebiim*, the ecstatic prophets, who have prophesied not judgment but peace for Israel.[51] It is argued that the words "mad" and "fool" are such "strong expressions that the prophet would hardly accept them as descriptions of his state of mind, even if he applied the thought in a fashion altogether opposed to what the people meant. . ."[52]

---

[51] Thus Sigmund Mowinckel, "The 'Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Pre-exilic Reforming Prophets," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 53(1934), 205, footnote, and C. F. Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), p. 122.

The other interpretation is that the prophet, after announcing judgment in 7ab, is heckled and derided by his listeners who call him a "fool" and "mad" because of his announcement of doom. The actual words of the people are thus quoted in 7c(1), but Hosea replies that it is because of their iniquity and hatred that they are making an accusation of this sort against him,[53] or "that he is driven to this state of frenzy"[54] because of their wrongdoing and malice. Some commentators, in a slight variation on this interpretation, take 7c(1) to be Hosea's words which he has taken up from his hecklers, repeating them with the assertion that he is mad because of Israel's iniquity, v. 7c(2).[55]

It seems clear that the first interpretation advanced by Mowinckel cannot stand. Cheyne has argued that "a false prophet would never be called a 'man of the spirit' but rather 'one that followeth his own spirit' (Ezek. 13:3); and neither 'a fool' nor 'mad' suggests the idea of falsehood or hypocrisy."[56] Mowinckel's argument that the words "mad" and "fool" are such strong expressions that the prophet would never have accepted them as descriptions of his own state of mind is readily answered by the interpretation of these words as a direct quotation from the mouth of the hecklers implying no admission on the part of Hosea that they are in any way a designation of his own person or calling. That authentic prophets were called "mad" is shown by II Kings 9:11 and Jer. 29:2.

---

[52] Mowinckel, loc. cit.

[53] This interpretation is advanced by James Ward, Hosea (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 157-158, and Norman Snaith, op. cit., p. 74.

[54] S. L. Brown, The Book of Hosea (London: Methuen and Co., 1932), p. 80.

[55] Cf. W. R. Harper, Amos and Hosea (New York: Scribners, 1905), p. 332, and Hellmuth Frey, Das Buch des Werbens Gottes um Seine Kirche (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1957), pp. 176-177.

It can be concluded, finally, that Hosea's listeners referred to him as a prophet and, synonymously, a man of the spirit. This can only mean that, whether used as a term of contempt or, what is more likely, as a common designation for one who followed the prophetic vocation, the phrase "man of the spirit" illustrates the close association that existed in the popular mind between the spirit of Yahweh and the activity of the prophets. Whether they attributed both the prophetic word and the ecstatic state to the influence of the spirit or only the ecstatic state, cannot be decided from this text.

---

[56] T. K. Cheyne, Hosea (Cambridge: U. Press, 1913), p. 96.

Thus this text is inconclusive in regard to the actual work of the spirit of God.

Hosea 13:15 speaks of the ruach of Yahweh as a destructive power directed against Samaria:

> 15 Though he may flourish as the reed plant,
>   the east wind, the wind of the Lord, shall come,
>   יבוא קדים רוח יהוה
>   rising from the wilderness;
> and his fountain shall dry up,
>   his spring shall be parched;
> it shall strip his treasury
>   of every precious thing.
> 16 Samaria shall bear her guilt . . .

These two verses, 15-16, predict the invasion of the Assyrians under the figure of a scorching east wind rising from out of the desert. Samaria will be denuded and will endure the most horrible cruelties, 15d, 16b. Verse 15 also contains allusions to Egypt,[57] which will also feel the effects of the Assyrian onslaught.[58]

The main problem centers around the phrase, ruach yahweh. It is possible to read it "the wind of Yahweh" as the RSV has done. There is no sure indication in this passage that this is not the correct translation. But there are considerations which would call it into doubt. For one thing, the subject of verse 15 is actually not a literal wind and a literal drought but rather the Assyrian onslaught and the subsequent spoliation of Samaria, seen, to be sure, under the figure of a scorching wind, but considered to be even more so the consequence of the wrath of Yahweh, cf. verse 14e and 16ab. So there is a strong possibility that ruach yahweh, used in apposition to "the east wind," was not meant to define the wind as such but rather was used to state the fact that, as an expression of the righteous anger of the Lord against disobedient Samaria, Yahweh was bringing on Assyria, the rod of his anger.

---

[57] Reading אָחִים , "reed plants" for אַחִים , "brothers," see BDB, op. cit., p. 28.

[58] At least one commentator, H. W. Wolff, Hosea (Neukirchen: Kreis Moers, 1961), p. 297, interprets "fountain" and "spring" to be a reference to the river Nile in Egypt where Israel, the reed plant, had sought to draw her support in her resistance against Assyria, cf. also 7:11.

This interpretation is supported by other considerations. Hosea only uses the wind elsewhere as a figure of futility, 4:19, 8:7, 12:2. It is questionable whether he intends to give to the wind the importance it would assume if it were to be referred to as "the wind of Yahweh." Furthermore, not only in Hosea, but throughout the whole Old Testament, only twice is the wind referred to as "the wind of Yahweh," Isaiah 40:7 and 59:19. So it is not a phrase commonly used to characterize the wind but is extremely rare in the Old Testament. In view of the tendency of the Old Testament writers to demote the wind, one can scarcely believe that Hosea, contrary to this trend, wishes to emphasize the position and importance of the wind by entitling it "the wind of Yahweh."

These considerations seem to indicate that _ruach yahweh_ means, not "the wind of Yahweh," but rather "the spirit of Yahweh," and can be taken to refer to his anger.[59] Interpreted in this way, the passage resembles II Samuel 22:16, except that in that passage Yahweh's anger was directed against the waters on behalf of his chosen king. An even closer parallel is Isaiah 27:8: "Measure by measure, by exile thou didst contend with them; he removed them with his fierce blast in the day of the east wind." Similarities in meaning are also found in Jeremiah 13:24 and 18:17 although Jeremiah never uses _ruach_ to mean "spirit," using rather the first person pronoun to indicate Yahweh's punishment on Judah.

Lys[60] has pointed out the irony hidden in this verse. Just as Amos had turned the Day of Yahweh, in which Israel had anticipated her own deliverance, into a day of judgment, so Hosea turns the _ruach yahweh_, which in other days had signified Yahweh's deliverance of his people from the sea, into a destructive power directed against Israel herself.

Micah 2:7 contains what has been called an antianthropomorphism:[61]

---

[59] Cf. Lys, _op_. _cit_., p. 74.

[60] _Loc_. _cit_.

[61] Cf. _ibid_., pp. 91-92.

6 "Do not preach"--thus they preach-- ,
"one should not preach of such things;
disgrace will not overtake us."
7 Should this be said, O house of Jacob?
Is the Spirit of the Lord impatient?
הקצר רוח יהוה
Are these his doing?
Do not my words do good
to him who walks uprightly?

Again, as in Hosea 9:7, there seems to be a literal record of the heckling carried on by the prophet's listeners, together with the prophet's rejoinder. Verse 6 records the people's protest against Micah's preaching of judgment, and their confident assertion that judgment will not come. To this Micah replied in v. 7 that what his hearers have just said should not be said. "Is the Spirit of the Lord impatient,"[62] means, "Is Yahweh bringing on this punishment due to peevishness or short temper?" The answer to be understood is, "no," for the spirit of Yahweh is not like man's spirit. Micah's contemporaries had seen their fellow men strike out in a fit of temper but Micah asserts that Yahweh does not act in this human way. Just as the writer of Proverbs 14:29 recognizes that a hasty temper is folly, a distortion of the spirit which ideally was meant for man by his creator, so Micah can say that that which is characteristically human, although sinful, is not found in the creator, cf. Hosea 11:9. Yahweh is not acting in a fit of temper. He has been longsuffering and patient according to his promise in Exodus 34:6. The work of judgment is not his only work. He has also been good to the upright.

---

[62] That this is the meaning of קצר רוח rather than "restricted" or "short in its reach" seems verified by the three other Biblical occurrences of the same Hebrew phrase, Exodus 6:9, Job 21:4, and above all, Proverbs 14:29, where it stands in contrast to "slow to anger," ארך אפים . The RSV translation of Exodus 6:9 could well have been "impatience" rather than "broken spirit" for, Israel, with her constant complaints against both Moses and Yahweh, seems anything but broken in spirit. For the translation of "restricted," see Roland Wolfe, _Micah_, in the IB, Vol. VI, p. 913, and for "short in its reach" see Norman Snaith, _Amos_, _op_. _cit_., p. 87.

The spirit of Yahweh is to be understood here as meaning a psychological attribute.[63] But in the manner of asking the question, Micah, in the answer he implies, asserts not only that Yahweh's spirit is not impatient, but also seems to deny the possibility of describing the spirit of God in terms of man's spirit or man's conduct.[64] The opposite must be true, that the spirit of God is the source, not the reflection, of man's spirit.

Micah 3:8 has more than a casual reference to 2:11 and recalls I Kings 22:19ff. with its dispute over the prophetic possession of authentic inspiration. Micah ridicules the claim of his prophetic contemporaries to possession of the spirit of God by saying that the ruach in them is only wind,

---

[63] Cf. Jepsen, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[64] and in this sense can be called an anti-anthropomorphism.

2:11.[65] Then, after a detailed denunciation of the "shalom" prophets, verses 5-7, he declares, "But as for me, I am filled with power, with the Spirit of the Lord, מלאתי כח את-רוח יהוה and with justice and might, to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin.[66] If this is authentic, and there is no compelling reason why it should be eliminated, for it is necessary to balance Micah's denial of the spirit to the false prophets, then this verse represents the only pre-exilic text in which a prophet himself explicitly attests to the spirit of God as the source of his own prophetic message.[67]

---

[65] If he had been fluent in both English *and* Hebrew, Micah might have said, "They use spirits (verse 11b) to induce the spirit (*ruach*) but the only result is wind (*ruach*)."

[66] Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 91, footnote 1, considers it preferable to eliminate כח , as a duplication of "might," rather than to eliminate, "with the spirit of the Lord." Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 175, footnote 109, states, "I cannot find any decisive reason for eliminating 'the spirit of Yahweh' from the text. Sellin, for instance, says that v. 8 is overloaded. But if the words in question are retained, we get a good 2+2+2 line."

[67] Claus Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Kapitel 40-66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), p. 291, sees in Micah's expression in 3:8 a stereotyped expression normally used by the *shalom* prophets which Micah has changed to apply to himself. This same stereotype was again used in the same way, Westermann says, by Trito Isaiah in 61:1.

III. SUMMARY OF THIS PERIOD

A. STATISTICS

Gender. In contrast with the earliest texts, the spirit in the texts of this period is consistently in the masculine gender in the cases where it can be determined, although in slightly over half of the texts the gender cannot be determined. What significance the change may have is hard to determine but it may indicate a trend toward personalization of the spirit.[68]

Article. The article is used only once, in Hosea 9:7 although the intention in this verse may have been to make "man" determinate rather than "spirit." In only two cases is spirit anarthrous. Thus in eleven passages where the spirit is in the construct state, the use of the article is precluded because the genitive is either the divine name or the possessive pronoun referring to the divine name. Then, as in the previous chapter, nothing conclusive can be determined in regard to the use of the article or its absence, but instead, the observation should be made that by the use of the genitive of the divine name or its possessive pronoun, the spirit is drawn into a very close relation with God himself.

---

[68] Cf. supra, p. 124, footnote 61.

Verbs. None of the verbs that indicated the violent onslaught or possession by the spirit are to be found in this period. Actually, only twice do we have verbs used that bear any special significance, "rest upon," in Isaiah 11:2 (which appeared previously in Num. 11) and "poured out," in 32:15. The former indicates not only gentle persuasion but also a permanent possession. The latter shows the fulness of measure in which the spirit is to be given. Lys regards the change in verbs from the oldest period to this period as being indicative of a change in the manner of working of the spirit. No longer is a man seized and used as an object. Now there is a trend towards dialogue and a recognition of the personal freedom of the individual or individuals upon whom the spirit is bestowed.[69]

B. ABSENCE OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD FROM LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

Probably the most noticeable characteristic of this period is the total absence of the spirit from certain bodies of literature, such as the writings of the Deuteronomic school, Jeremiah, and the minor prophets, Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, together with the marked hesitancy on the part of the other prophets in regard to its use; and this in the greatest period of the prophets in Israel's history. Seen in raw statistics, the spirit of God is actually mentioned far less frequently in this period than in the texts of the earliest period.[70]

---

[69] Lys, op. cit., p. 81.

This can be accounted for in part by the fact that with the beginning of the dynastic monarchies, the charisma-granting spirit is no longer necessary for the legitimatization of the king and so ceases to be associated with the reigning monarch. That this was not necessarily the case in the Northern Kingdom, where the dynastic monarchy was an on-again, off-again thing, and where in many cases the support of the prophets was considered necessary to secure the throne, might indicate that the shift of the spirit away from the monarchy in the direction of the prophets involved more than a mere institutionalizing of what had previously been a matter of charismatic selection. It is very possible that it also indicates a spiritual hardening in the monarchy as a system, but particularly noticeable in certain notorious individual rulers beginning with Solomon, which made it impervious to the working of the spirit of God. At least one commentator has seen in

---

[70] By actual count, twenty-five times in the earliest period, fourteen times in this period.

Isaiah 11:2 a reference to this hardening in the historical kings which will be remedied only by the coming of the Messiah.[71]

But this explains only in part the absence of the spirit of God from this period. The main reason appears to be the general reaction against the excesses of the ecstatic prophets[72] with whom the spirit continued to be largely associated in the popular mind. There is some evidence that this adverse reaction had already started in the time of Elijah and Elisha, of whom it is never mentioned that they "prophesied," יתנבא . On the contrary, II Kings 3:15 reports that when the minstrel called to prepare Elisha for an oracle played, "the hand (יד) of the Lord came upon him," seemingly a deliberate avoidance of association with the spirit which in similar circumstances brought upon Saul the ecstatic condition (I Sam. 10:5-6, 10). The fact that the "prophesying," called "raving" in I Kings 18:29, was practiced also by the Baal prophets would serve to bring it, and the spirit commonly associated with it, into disrepute. There is at least a hint of this in the story of Elijah on Horeb (19:9-12), for even though it is obviously a "wind" which is not to be mistaken for the presence of Yahweh, yet the play on the word ruach would not be lost on that generation for whom the ruach which caused the "prophesying" would seem to be most obviously that in which Yahweh is not present. This comes clear in I Kings 22:24, where, as has been shown above, there is recorded the attempt to distinguish the ruach causing the "raving," and together with it the false prophesying, from the true spirit of God which inspires the true prophets of Yahweh. And, significantly, the conclusion is drawn that it is the fulfillment of the word which serves not only for authentication of the prophet but for distinguishing the false from the true. This is also, in another context, the meaning of 19:9-12, for it is finally in the "still small voice," in the word, that Yahweh reveals himself.

---

[71] Volkmar Herntrich, _op_. _cit_., p. 210.

[72] Described at length by Mowinckel, _op_. _cit_., pp. 199-227, but pointed out at least as early as 1904 by W. R. Schoemaker, "The Use of רוח in the Old Testament and πνεῦμα in the New Testament," _Journal_ _of_ _Biblical_ _Literature_, 23(1904), 20.

This leads directly back to the subject of the spirit and the pre-exilic prophets, for in a period in which only once, in a text whose authenticity is disputed, does there appear a prophet publicly attributing his inspiration to the spirit of God, it has been shown that the word of Yahweh has displaced the spirit as the "fundamental religious conception upon which the whole of their consciousness and prophetic message rest."[73] How long this adverse influence of the ecstatic prophets continued is not clear, but it is not until the time of Ezekiel that a prophet can claim, without hesitation, association with the spirit of God.

---

[73] Mowinckel, op. cit., p. 199.

C. THE SPIRIT DESCRIBED IN THIS PERIOD.

But this is not to say that the spirit of God has not been transferred to the prophets in this period. On the contrary, only the prophets speak of it and predict its coming. It is associated with neither king nor priest, with neither the wise nor the elders, nor is it ever mentioned as a word in the mouth of any such individual in this period.[74] Furthermore, in spite of its infrequency of appearance, the picture of the spirit that finally emerges presents a broad spectrum of meanings, largely due to the description of it given by Isaiah.

Its function. In its working, the spirit of God in this period is manifested in a great variety of functions.

---

[74] It is an interesting fact that in the earliest period the spirit is never explicitly identified with the prophetic vocation, neither with the nebiim nor with individuals such as Nathan. Nu. 11:29 may be an exception, although if Moses' words are to be understood in the context of the immediately preceding narrative, it must be noted that the elders are to be administrative assistants, not prophets, and their "prophesying" does not relate them to the prophetic vocation. In contrast to the earliest period, however, every mention of the spirit in this period relates to the prophetic vocation, either related to the work of the prophets themselves, such as Elijah, Micaiah, or Micah, or spoken by the prophets.

But they may all be subsumed under two main headings. First, the spirit is the power of God acting on or on behalf of his people. It was popularly thought that a man who lived as close to the Lord as Elijah, was completely under the control of the spirit, (I Kgs. 18:12; II Kgs. 2:16). The power of the spirit is incarnated in the prophetic word as in I Kings 22:24 and Micah 3:8. The spirit will be a purifying power (Is. 4:4) preparing the remnant of the people for the new and holy life that will accompany the advent of the messianic age. It is the spirit of God which will equip the messianic king with the charismatic gifts which will empower him for his mission of judgment and salvation (Is. 11:2), recalling the former days when Yahweh enabled his chosen leaders to carry out a specific task through the gift of the spirit. The life-giving power of the spirit of God receives its first notice in this period in the physical renewal of nature and the spiritual renewal of man (Is. 32:15). It is a calling to life, through the power of the spirit, of that which was dead, desolate, inanimate, pictured as a wilderness of thorns, a forsaken palace, a deserted city. But the new life in the new age will be a fruitful field wherein dwells continually justice, righteousness, peace, and trust. Finally, the spirit means just power in Is. 31:3, and power evidenced as Yahweh's will in Is. 30:1.

Second, the spirit of God means Yahweh's anger, not describing an emotion of God as he is in himself, but always used to characterize Yahweh's manner of working with or for his people. Isaiah 11:15, in picturing a new exodus from Assyria and Egypt, visualizes the activity of God against the water as performed in the blazing heat of his jealous wrath on behalf of his people. But this anger, the ruach, is for the first time directed against a human object, presumably the Assyrians (30:28). Finally, it is Israel, waiting in false anticipation for the coming again of the saving breath of Yahweh as in the days of the first exodus, which will feel the brunt of Yahweh's spirit of anger when he brings against them the military might of Assyria, Hos. 13:15. And it is Micah that points out that Yahweh's spirit is not to be thought of in terms of man's distorted spirit, as peevish, petulant, or short-tempered.

Its nature. Again it is necessary to repeat that it is impossible to give an ontological description or definition of the nature of the spirit. The best that can be done is to do what the Old Testament itself has done; after describing the spirit by means of its activity, it then sees it in relation to other things. The activity has been described above. In relation to Yahweh himself, Isaiah 30:1 and 31:3 have shown that although it is closely, very closely, associated with Yahweh, yet it is not identical with Yahweh. Sometimes, as in 30:28, it stands no closer to him than his hand, his nostrils, his lips, or his tongue. At other times it stands exclusively in the closest relation with him.

In relation to man, Isaiah 31:3 showed that _ruach_, the spirit, is not something mutually shared by God and man. By nature, man does not have the spirit, and, as a result, his intrinsic nature is weakness and frailty. _Ruach_, the spirit, is exclusively characteristic of God, and it is power, the only source of power and strength that exists, because the source is in God. Without it, all else can only perish.

Present or future. Most of the texts from this period speak of the present activity of the spirit. But in contrast to the earlier period, a few texts describe the future, the coming messianic realm, the new age. Not only that, but the most glorious work of the spirit is reserved for the indefinite future (Is. 4:4; 11:2, 15; 32:15). This is probably related to the fact that the spirit performed its work almost exclusively in the service of the covenant. It was in the context of the covenant that the spirit was seen to be working in the earlier period, at the Reed Sea, through Moses on the elders, on the judges and the first monarchs, executing the promises made at Sinai. But with the breakdown of the old covenant through the infidelity of the nation, becoming increasingly apparent from the time of Amos and Hosea, the work of the spirit in the framework of that covenant becomes progressively more difficult if not impossible. As the message of the prophets directs the gaze of the faithful in Israel in ever larger measure towards the new covenant promised for the future,[75] it follows that the description of the activity of the spirit of God will increasingly be projected into the future, for it is, above all, the spirit which is the motivation force in the covenant, old or new.[76] It is the spirit of God which will execute the promises which appertain to the new covenant as it is visualized in the future. From the time of David the activity of the spirit shifted from the monarchy to the prophets. But the prophets point to the ideal king of the future, the messianic realm, as the time when the spirit will return again to abide on God's chosen ruler in his new kingdom.

---

[75] True enough, Isaiah does not speak of the new covenant as such. But his messianic age is certainly his equivalent of the new covenant; to be sure, it is more a renewal of the Davidic covenant than the Sinaitic, but a new covenant all the same.

[76] Cf. P. van Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé et l'alliance nouvelle dans l'A.T.," op. cit., p. 206.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXILE AND EARLY POST-EXILIC PERIOD

Israel in exile -- that fact, which in the normal course of things might be expected to have served as the *coup de grace* for Israel's life as a nation, acted instead to broaden and deepen that faith which in reality was the life-blood of her existence. There took place a theological renaissance in which the spirit of God had a share. Numerically, the spirit of God is mentioned more frequently in the literature of this short period than in the whole of the remainder of the Old Testament.[1] In this period we reach the Mt. Nebo which overlooks the New Testament, for the activity of the spirit is described in a manner both rich and varied, and not to be encountered again until Pentecost.

---

[1] The texts from this period, which is dated roughly from 593-460 B.C. are as follows: Historical Writings (P), Gen. 1:2; Ex. 28:3; 31:3; 35:31; Num. 27:18; Deut. 34:9. Prophetic Literature, Is. 27:8; 34:16; 40:13; 42:1; 44:3; 48:16; 59:21; 61:1; 63:10,11,14; Ezek. 1:12,20,21; 2:2; 3:12, 14,24; 8:3; 10:17; 11:1,5,24; 36:27; 37:1,14; 39:29; 43:5; Joel 3:1,2; Hag. 2:5; Zech. 4:6; 6:8; 7:12. Wisdom Literature, Job 4:9; 26:13; 32:8; 33:4; 34:14. Some of the Psalms undoubtedly originated in this period but, with the exception of Ps. 18:16, they will be considered in a separate section, Chapter VIII.

I. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Priestly Source. Arguments over the meaning of ruach elohim in Genesis 1:2[2] have centered on the problems: is ruach to be translated "wind" or "spirit;" is it to be taken with chaos in v. 2 or with God in v. 3; what function does it serve?[3]

In order to understand the context in which 1:2c is placed it is necessary to first consider 1:1 and 1:2ab, even though the interpretation of 1:1-2b does not seem to be decisive in determining the meaning of ruach in 1:2c. 1:1, a general statement of creation by the Deity, has been interpreted either as a superscription to the whole creative process which follows in vv. 3ff., or as a relative clause whose apodosis is either in v. 2 or v. 3.[4] That the creative activity of God is related in v. 1 and vv. 3ff. is never placed in doubt. For the interpretation of ruach elohim in 2c, it is not necessary to decide between the differing interpretations of 1:1.

---

[2] For a rather complete bibliography on Gen. 1, see Werner H. Schmidt, Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 192-200.

[3] Cf., e.g., J.M. Powis Smith, "The Syntax and Meaning of Genesis 1:1-3," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 44(1927-8), 111-114; "The Use of Divine Names as Superlatives," ibid., 45(1928-29), 212-213; who suggested the translation, "powerful wind;" Von Kurt Galling, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Genesis 1:2," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 2(1920), 145-155, who suggests that ruach is a part of chaos in v. 2 and that wind serves to fill the void over chaos; William McClellan, "The Meaning of rûach 'elohim in Genesis 1,2" Biblica, 15(1934), 517-527, who decides on "spirit" as God's creative power; and J. P. Peters, "The Wind of God," Journal of Biblical Literature, 30(1911), 44-54, 33(1914), 81-86, who wants to translate it, "wind," as the vital spirit of the universe patterned after mythological thought.

Genesis 1:2 has been interpreted to mean: 1. chaos,[5] either created, or, uncreated and so in existence even before the divine creative act; 2. nothingness,[6] the dark and negative background against which the creative act must be viewed; 3. the first step in the orderly creative process, assuming that 1:1 is an independent sentence, and that v. 2 does not depict a chaos but the beginnings of an as yet uncompleted creation.[7]

If the ruach elohim is a part of the elements described in verse 2, then it is necessary to determine precisely the nature of these elements in order to be able to ascertain the meaning of ruach elohim in v. 2c. But anticipating the results of the paragraph below, the arguments opposing the placing of ruach as an equal element in the series, "without form and void," "darkness," "deep," "waters," so far outweigh those which favor it that such an interpretation seems to be an impossibility. Thus is obviated the necessity of determining the exact nature of the primeval elements of verse 2. In the course of the discussion below, however, the various possibilities with their pros and cons will be presented.

---

[4] For a complete grammatical analysis see John Skinner, Genesis, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

[5] Thus, C. A. Simpson, The Book of Genesis in IB, Vol. I, pp. 467-468.

[6] Thus Kurt Galling, op. cit., p. 149; G. von Rad, Genesis, op. cit., p. 49; Brevard S. Childs, op. cit., pp. 42, 82 and R. Kilian, "Gen. 1,2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," Vetus Testamentum, 16(1966), 435.

[7] Thus Samuel Terrien (New York: Union Theological Seminary), unpublished classroom lectures on Old Testament theology, and Edward J. Young, "The Interpretation of Genesis 1:2," Westminster Theological Journal, 23(1960-61), p. 170.

Ruach can only be interpreted as part of the chaos if it means "wind," for the "spirit" of God as it is presented in the Old Testament can manifestly be neither a created element nor an integral part of primeval chaos. Syntactically, verse 2c belongs to the chaos,[8] an argument in favor of translating it as "wind." Secondly, it has been noted that the word מרחפת, describing the action of the ruach, is also used in Deut. 32:11 to describe the movement of an eagle over her nest. This presupposes wings for the eagle and, by analogy, for the ruach, nicely identifying the ruach in Genesis 1:2 with the wind (ruach) to which is ascribed wings in Psalms 18:11 and 104:3.[9] Thirdly, some have seen a point of contact with Phoenician mythology in the mention of בהו as possibly related to Baau, the goddess of the night and the wife of Kolpia, the wind.[10] This might suggest the presence of wind in verse 2, hinting at the translation of "wind" for *ruach*. Fourthly, the fact that תהום is etymologically related to the Akkadian Tiamat has been frequently noted,[11] leading many commentators to conclude that the *ruach* must be translated "wind" as the equivalent of the seven winds used by Marduk in his cosmogonic struggle with the dragon Tiamat.[12] Finally, it has been argued that *ruach* is no more active than the other elements in v. 2, that God is described intimately and anthropomorphically throughout, so that there is no need of the spirit, and that the translation of spirit only came about anyway in the later versions under Hellenistic influence. The conclusion, in regard to this final point, is that only the wind is described here.[13]

---

[8] Cf. Brevard Childs, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

[9] Cf. Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Jahvé, source de vie," op. cit., p. 490.

---

[10] Mentioned by Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 32, footnote 3, and discussed by Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 50, and L. Waterman, "Cosmogonic Affinities in Genesis 1:2," *American Journal of* Semitic Literature, 43(1927), 179, 183.

[11] Cf. W. F. Albright, "Zabul Yam and Thapit Nahar in the combat between Baal and the Sea," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XVI(1936), 18, footnote.

[12] Cf. H. May, "The Creation of Light in Genesis 1:3-5," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 43(1939), 203-204; Harry Orlinsky, "The Plain Meaning of Ruach in Gen. 1:2," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 48(1957-8), 177; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 3; and Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.

On the other hand the arguments against the translation of "wind" for *ruach* here appear overwhelming. First of all, in answer to the arguments of those commentators mentioned above who prefer the translation "wind," it can be stated: 1. The *waw* in ורוח of 2c may be translated as a *waw* adversative, "but the spirit was hovering. . ." separating 2c from the series in 2ab rather than joining it.[14] 2. However, even if syntactically verse 2c belongs to the statement of chaos in 2ab, this does not necessarily mean that the *ruach* is part of chaos as an equivalent element. It can just as well express an action of the *ruach*, conceived of as different in kind, over against the elements of chaos.[15] And actually, the fact that it is the only element in verse 2 which is described as active (with a verbal not a copula) would favor viewing it not as a part of chaos but as quite distinct from it. 3. Although the identification with the wind through the verbal מרחפת is enticing, yet it is not decisive. The ruach, in contexts where it can be only translated as "spirit," is often described by such anthropomorphic terms as "leaped upon," "clothed," and "poured out," and the use of the verbal implying the use of wings can be just as aptly applied metaphorically to the spirit as to the wind. 4. Although a possible relation to Phoenician mythology has been noted, yet it is dismissed as unlikely, both because of the conjectural nature of the supposed affinities, and even more so because the available sources describing the Phoenician mythology postdate the Priestly source.[16] 5. Although affinities to the Babylonian creation myth are readily noted, most commentators are just as quick to point out not only dissimilarities but also the fact that the Priestly writer has not taken over the Babylonian myth unchanged. It has received the strong stamp of the Priestly school and is not a mythological account in the sense that the Marduk myth is, which would lead one to expect not a slavish copying but rather something quite the opposite.[17] Thus one cannot argue that because the wind is present as a major participant in the Marduk myth it must also be present in the word ruach in verse 2c.

---

[13] Cf. Orlinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

[14] Cf. Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), p. 24.

[15] As Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 35, has interpreted it, or Islwyn Blythin, "A Note on Genesis 1:2," *Vetus Testamentum*, 12(1962), 121.

---

[16] Cf. Childs, op. cit., p. 32, footnote; Skinner, op. cit., p. 50; Waterman, op. cit., p. 183. It may be possible to trace the derivation of these late Phoenician sources back to proto-Phoenician material but thus far, nothing to correspond to the divinities Baau or Kolpia has been found in the latter material.

[17] Cf. von Rad, Genesis, op. cit., p. 88, Skinner, op. cit., p. 17, and Köberle, op. cit., p. 422.

Furthermore, other more weighty considerations against the translation of "wind" must be taken into account. First, if ruach as wind is a part of chaos, why is it defined by elohim? It is impossible to translate elohim as "God" in this case. An attempted solution was the proposal to consider elohim as an elative, a grammatical usage not unknown in the Old Testament.[18] But two arguments weigh heavily against this suggestion. Although there are examples of elatives in the Old Testament, in no other place is ruach elohim used in this way, meaning a strong or powerful wind. And even more decisive is the argument that the Priestly writer would never have used elohim in v. 2 with a different meaning than that which he gives to it in verses 1 and 3, without in some way indicating that it should be translated differently.[19]

---

[18] Suggested by J. M. Powis Smith, *loc. cit.*, and seriously questioned by D. Winton Thomas, "A Consideration of some Unusual ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *Vetus Testamentum*, 3(1953), 215-219.

[19] Pointed out by Sabatino Moscati, "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 56(1947), 306-7, and in a different context, by Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

If elohim does not mean "strong" or "powerful," then it must only refer to God, so that "wind of God" can be considered a possibility. But "wind of God" cannot be an integral part of chaos and so must represent a power or force standing over chaos and acting on it. What then would its function be? It could scarcely be a drying wind for in the creative process the dry land does not appear until the third day. And if the answer were given that the wind has a creative function, it must be pointed out, as was done especially in Chapter IV above, that the wind in the Old Testament is never allowed to participate in the creative process, that on the contrary, by the time of the exile and even before, the wind has been demoted and naturalized, perhaps as a reaction against just such a divine wind concept as is described in the Marduk myth. It is very possible to believe that the ruach elohim is the Priestly writer's counterpart to the divine wind in the Marduk myth, but it is difficult to believe that the writer was using it to mean "wind of God," a phrase which would be quite unique in the whole Old Testament and which would run counter to a tendency which prevails from the earliest writing down to the latest Old Testament period; the tendency to remove the wind from any effective participation in God's creative and saving acts. It would be unique because almost never in the Old Testament is the wind described as the "wind of God," (the exceptions, noted above, being Isaiah 40:7, and 59:19, "wind of Yahweh"). This argument alone, the use of the wind in the Old Testament, seems decisive against the translation of "wind" in verse 2c.

What then can be said in favor of the translation "spirit"? Perhaps the strongest argument exists in those passages which date from approximately the same period as the Priestly source and which deal with creation: Isaiah 40:13, Psalm 33:6, Job 26:13.[20] All of them use *ruach*, not as a created element, but as a creating power. The first two, without question, cannot be translated as "wind" while the third, though somewhat ambiguous, should be translated "breath" or "spirit" rather than wind. These three texts, all of which show definite affinities to Genesis 1 and have either influenced or been influenced by that account,[21] should be given due weight in the interpretation of Genesis 1:2.

Directly related to the reference in Psalm 33:6 is the function of the *ruach*. It has been objected[22] that the ruach, as spirit, in Genesis 1:2 serves no purpose, performs no useful function the results of which can be noted in the following verses. It is precisely at this point that the translation of "spirit" for ruach seems to be far superior to "wind." There is no good explanation for the appearance of wind among the formless elements of the primeval cosmos described in verse 2, nor does it ever reappear in the remainder of the creation account in Genesis 1. But the spirit of God, not at all out of harmony with the spirit of God that has been described from the earliest writings of the Old Testament, not only joins the God of creation in verse 1 to the same God in verse 3, maintaining the continued action of the creative God of verse 1 over against the chaos,[23] but also in harmony with Psalm 33:6, finds its direct issuance in the creative word of verse 3. The spirit of God is the creative power of God which joins with the word, bearing and articulating it, in the creative act.[24] On the other hand the word communicates and authenticates the spirit, making it specific and concrete ("Let there be light"), a fact which served the pre-exilic prophets well in distinguishing the spirit. Particularly in this passage the word safeguards the spirit from interpretation as an emanation,[25] the divine fiat revealing that the true nature of spirit is power at work in creation.

---

[20] Cf. also Ps. 104:7, which does not have *ruach* but does have גערתך (compare with Ps. 18:15) expressing both Yahweh's anger (*ruach*) and his breath (*ruach*) used in uttering the word (cf. Ps. 33:6) which rolls back the primeval waters.

[21] Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 32 says, "the Priestly writer already had the example of Second Isaiah to follow . . .", and W. Eichrodt, Theologie *op. cit.*, p. 26, says that Ps. 33 is in clear dependence on the Priestly creation account.

[22] Particularly by Orlinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 180, but also by Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 18, and von Rad, Genesis, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

---

[23] Thus Childs, op. cit., p. 35, and Kilian, loc. cit., who believes that 1:2 was interpolated for this purpose.

[24] The relation between the spirit and the word in this passage has been noted by Koch, op. cit., p. 22, by Hehn, op. cit., p. 220, by Eichrodt, Theologie, op. cit., p. 26, and by Terrien, in unpublished classroom lectures, op. cit.,; for an essay on the relation between the ruach and the word, with particular reference to Gen. 1:2, see André Neher, L'Essence du Prophétisme (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), pp. 105-115.

Finally, the translation of "spirit" for *ruach* best explains the meaning of the verbal מרחפת .[26] The verb is found only once again in the Old Testament, Deut. 32:11, in the context of the description of a mother eagle teaching her young to fly.[27] This meaning is confirmed by the Ras Shamra texts,[28] where *rḫph* is used to describe the hovering or soaring of eagles and hawks (and Anat). Its occurrence in Deut. 32:11 suggests the loving concern of a mother for her young, the hovering movement of the mother bird over the nest of her fledgling young. The word seems singularly unsuitable for expressing the furious combat of the wind against Tiamat as it is described in the Babylonian myth, thus it cannot be used as an argument for the translation of "wind" for ruach, a translation used by those who would see in 1:2 a reference to this myth.[29] On the contrary, this verb fits better the translation of "spirit" for ruach. Lys has noted the salvation context of Deut. 32:11, as well as of the related passage, Exodus 19:4 ("I bore you on eagles' wings").[30] This expresses well the function of the spirit of God in Genesis 1:2. The creation by God is a transformation of the cosmos from darkness, from formlessness, from chaos. Just as Yahweh, likened to a mother eagle in Deut. 32:10-11, cares for the infant Israel, "the work of his hands," saving her from "the howling waste" of the wilderness, so Yahweh, directly through his own spirit, brings the as yet unformed cosmos from chaos, darkness, and formlessness. In both passages the word expresses the loving concern of the creator brought to bear upon the yet undeveloped creature. In Genesis 1:2c this loving concern is joined with the spirit, his directing, guiding and life-giving power, to act upon the formless mass of 1:2ab.

---

[25] Thus Terrien, *ibid*.

[26] For a discussion of the word, cf. Childs, *op*. *cit*., p. 33, footnote 2.

[27] Cf. BDB, *op*. *cit*., p. 934.

[28] Cf. Driver, *Canaanite Myths*, *op*. *cit*., pp. 56-59, Aqhat III i 20,21,31,32.

In summary, arguments against the translation of "wind" for ruach elohim in Gen. 1:2 leave, as the only possibility, the translation, "spirit of God." Because it is the spirit of God, it shows it to be related to the God of creation of verses 1 and 3. The relation of the spirit to the word, noted elsewhere in the Old Testament, prevents the isolation of 1:2 as a separate or unrelated activity; it instead gives the creative work of the spirit its continuance and fulfillment in the divine word of verse 3. The verbal מרחפת , according to the analogy of Deut. 32:11, places the creative activity of the spirit of God in a salvation context. The ruach elohim is the life-giving power of God (cf. Isaiah 32:15) through which God works to bring into being his creation.

---

[29] Against Waterman, op. cit., p. 183, who would translate it, "rush upon," "dash at."

[30] Op. cit., pp. 178-183.

Exodus 23:3 must be considered together with Exodus 31:3 and 35:31. The former speaks about those who are to make Aaron's garments, showing that they are to be given the ability to do the work well. The verse reads: "and you shall speak to all who have ability, (חכמי לב), whom I have endowed with an able mind (מלאתיו רוח חכמה), that they make Aaron's garments to consecrate him for my priesthood." Exodus 31:3 is more explicit in describing the ability given to Bezalel to make the furnishings for the tabernacle:

> The Lord said to Moses, [2]see, I have called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, son of Hur, of the tribes of Judah: [3]and I have filled him with the Spirit of God (ואמלא אתו רוח אלהים), with ability (חכמה) and intelligence, with knowledge and all craftsmanship, [4]to devise artistic designs, to work in gold, silver, and bronze. . .

Exodus 35:31 relates how Moses relayed the Lord's words of Exodus 31:1ff to the people. The formula is identical with 31:3.

Exodus 28:3 presents the problem that the *ruach* is called רוח חכמה . It cannot simply be assumed that this refers to the spirit of God,[31] although the *ruach* is called the רוח אלהים in 31:3 and 35:31 in a similar context. On the other hand, 31:3 and 35:31 speak of the gift of the spirit to Bezalel for woodworking and stone cutting while the *ruach ḥokhmah* of 28:3 is given to those who are to do the tailoring on the priestly garments, identified in 31:6 (35:34) as Oholiab, who is to be given ability identified in 31:6 as *ḥokhmah*, "wisdom" or "skill." The *ruach* of 28:3, then, could be interpreted to mean the human *ruach*, evident in this case as the artistic ability which Oholiab possesses. This is not to deny that it is an ability which is ultimately divinely inspired, as the RSV makes clear, "and I have given to all able men ability." Two things, however, speak against the interpretation of *ruach* in 28:3 as the human *ruach*. For one thing, the *ruach* in man is used to mean "disposition," "will," even "moral character," but is nowhere in the Old Testament used to refer to ability or talent. Secondly, the human seat of this divinely given ability is consistently referred to as the *leb*, the heart, throughout these chapters, cf. 28:3, 31:6, 35:35, 36:1,2. *Ruach*, then, even in 28:3, must be taken to mean the spirit of God, the divine source of that ability which is now to be placed in the service of the Lord for the construction of the tabernacle and the making of the priestly garments. This God-given charismatic talent is defined as *ḥokhma* (or understanding and knowledge), 28:3, 31:3,6, 35:31,35, 36:1,2, which should be taken as the overall "wisdom" classification of the various talents displayed in the preparation of the cultic furniture and garments.[32]

---

[31] as many commentators do, cf. Keil and Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 192, "artistic skill surpassing man's natural ability, which is therefore described as being filled with the divine spirit of wisdom." A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (London: Methuen and Co., 1908), p. 177, "It is a true conception of great importance that the action of the divine Spirit is not confined to the bestowal of 'spiritual gifts,' but that successful skill in handiwork and in every duty of daily life is due to Him;" or August Dillmann, *Exodus und Leviticus* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880), p. 299, "leitete man auch Einsichten und Fertigkeiten dieser Art vom Geistes Gottes ab . . ."

It is the gift-giving function of the spirit of God that is described in these three passages. "The erection of the tabernacle could not have been a human piece of work -- the Spirit of God had directly authorized the chief craftsman to undertake the task."[33] Just as God's "craftmanship" at creation (Gen. 2:2,3 מלאכה) was executed through the spirit, so the "craftsmanship" (מלאכה) involved in constructing the tabernacle and tailoring the priestly garments is actually the work of God, performed through his spirit by means of certain select individuals.

---

[32] McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 16, comments on this passage, "The second point which I would make in connection with these passages is that in Ex. 28:3 the skill of the craftsman is not portrayed in terms of native endowment; it is not the result of a period of rigorous apprenticeship, but is rather the gift of Yahweh who has filled the *ḥak^{e}mē lēḇ* with the spirit (*rūaḥ*) of wisdom. This represents one aspect of the accommodation of the vocabulary of old wisdom to Israelite piety."

The "wisdom" element is unmistakable and recalls the Joseph narrative (Gen. 41:38).

Numbers 27:18, which speaks of Joshua as "a man in whom is spirit," must be taken together with Deuteronomy 34:9. In the former, Yahweh tells Moses, "Take Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit (אשר רוח בו), and lay your hand upon him." But the latter text reverses the order of the ordination and the gift of the spirit: "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him." The work of the spirit here is similar to that in Exodus 31:3 and 28:3. Joshua is belatedly provided with the divine charisma which means the ability and insight necessary to carry out his assigned task.[34] Because 27:18 does not speak of his receiving the spirit but assumes that Joshua already possesses it, it is proper to conclude that the Biblical writer considered Joshua to be one of the seventy elders in Numbers 11:28 who had received the spirit, although it is not specifically so stated.[35]

---

[33] G. von Rad, _Old Testament Theology_, Vol. I, _op. cit._, p. 100. Hellmuth Frey, _Das Buch der Gegenwart Gottes unter seiner Gemeinde_ (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1953), p. 40, comments, "darum die Begabung der Künstler mit Gottes Geist und die anfertigung aus dem Prunkmaterial könglicher Rüstkammer, göttlicher Wohnungseinrichtung."

It should be observed that, with the exception of Genesis 1:2, which is of a different order entirely,[36] the spirit of God stands on the periphery, so to speak, of the Priestly writing. Neither the laws nor the priesthood, which stand at the center of the Priestly writings, are in any way related to the spirit of God, a fact which is true also through the whole of the Old Testament. Von Rad has pointed out the fact that the charisma, the gift-giving function of the spirit, sits loose to the general picture that P has of Israel.[37] Whether this means that the Priestly writer has wilfully restricted the activity of the spirit of God to peripheral areas such as craftsmanship or leadership ability, or whether he is working with traditions which are foreign to his system, is difficult to determine. Because the activity of the spirit is recognized as being present in Joshua,[38] perhaps the latter alternative is the more probable (cf. also Exodus 31:1-3, The *Lord* said to Moses. . .I have filled him with the Spirit of *God*). At any rate, it does not appear to be intrinsic to his theological system.

---

[34] Cf. G. E. Wright, The Book of Deuteronomy, Vol. II in IB, p. 536, or Keil and Delitzsch, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 215, "the spiritual endowment requisite for the office he was called to fill."

[35] Cf. Lys, op. cit., pp. 191-92.

[36] Leading one to suspect the existence of varied traditions within the Priestly writing itself.

[37] Von Rad, Theology, loc. cit.

It should also be observed that "wisdom" has become almost synonymous with or at least has been joined to the spirit of God in this literature. More can be said concerning this after the book of Job has been considered.

II. PROPHETIC LITERATURE

Isaiah. Isaiah 27:8[39] recalls Hosea 13:15 in its use of the east wind to describe metaphorically the chastising power of Yahweh's *ruach* which Israel experienced in the exile. The verse reads: "Measure by measure, by exile thou didst contend with them; he removed them with his fierce blast in the day of the east wind (הגה ברוחו הקשה ביום קדים)."

---

[38] Meaning that the Priestly writer has accepted into his system the tradition implied in Numbers 11:28 that Joshua received the spirit as one of the elders. This tradition, however, does not seem to be intrinsic to the Priestly writing because nowhere else in the Priestly source is the spirit recognized as being present charismatically on any of the leaders.

[39] For the early post-exilic dating of this text, cf. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian Library, 1956), p. 221.

הגה means "to remove,"[40] and is used in only one other text in the Old Testament, Proverbs 25:4-5, where it means both to remove dross from silver and to remove the wicked from before the king. קשה means "hard, severe,"[41] as in a hard battle, II Sam. 2:17, severe servitude, Ex. 1:14, or relentless sword, Is. 27:1. Because the present text gives good meaning it seems unnecessary to accept Kittel's suggested emendation of קשה to כקש .[42]

The main problem is the translation of ruach. The RSV correctly suggests the idea of Yahweh's power when it translates ruach by "blast."[43] Unless the text is emended, there is nothing in the verb הגה or in the adjective הקשה to suggest a wind. On the contrary, because the prophet has felt it necessary to add ביום קדים to describe the action of Yahweh's ruach, it seems quite evident that he is not using ruach to mean wind, for only if ruach means Yahweh's spirit or his anger would it be necessary to use an additional word meaning wind to describe it metaphorically as wind. No one would say "a wind like a wind," but one could say "anger like the wind."[44]

---

[40] Cf. BDB, op. cit., p. 212.

[41] Cf. ibid., p. 904.

[42] Lys, op. cit., p. 217, sees only the wind in this text which he has changed to read, כרוח הקש . This makes ruach here tautological with קדים in the same line. Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 458, also sees the meaning of winnowing in this verse when he comments, "Jehovah sifted Israel. . .He blew as violently upon it as if the east wind had raged . . ."

[43] Fohrer, op. cit., p. 39, translates, "Er stiess (sie) aus durch seinen starken Sturm . . ." Duhm, op. cit., p. 161, translates similarly, "trieb sie fort durch seinen harten sturm . . ." Cheyne, op. cit., p. 157, has, "he scared her away with his rough blast . . ."

Furthermore, it is necessary to remember what was written above in Chapter Four concerning the demotion of the wind and its removal from direct use as Yahweh's instrument (it is used, of course, metaphorically as here). If רוחו here means "his wind" it would be the only text in Exilic or Post-exilic Old Testament literature where the divine possessive pronoun is used with wind.[45]

It seems evident that ruach does not mean wind but rather Yahweh's spirit, having the nuances of power and anger. Power is indicated in the text by the word קשה, illustrated by its use in 27:1. Yahweh's anger is indicated by the fact that the Lord removed Israel, sent her away like a divorced wife,[46] and also by the prophet's words in the same verse that he "contended" with Israel. Yahweh sent Israel into exile, punishing her in his anger, and the force of this blow struck Israel like a blast from the scorching east wind. Ruach is used to express both the anger of Yahweh and his power. But it is his spirit. This interpretation serves to substantiate the interpretation given above for the very similar text, Hosea 13:15.

---

[44] See Ezek. 13:13, where Yahweh's punishing wrath is compared to a stormy wind, also Jer. 18:17.

[45] As has been noted previously, the divine name is used twice with wind, Is. 40:7 and 59:19.

[46] Thus August Dillmann, Jesaja (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1898), p. 242.

The place of the spirit in the difficult text Isaiah 34:16[47] is not easy to establish.[48] The whole chapter[49] deals, in apocalyptic terms,[50] with the destruction of Edom and the subsequent population of the desolated land (tohu and bohu in v. 11) with a varied assortment of animals usually found in wild or desolate country. The part played by the spirit in this weird drama is explained in v. 16:

---

[47] For the dating of Isaiah 34:16 to this period, cf. Weiser, op. cit., p. 193.

[48] Few commentators comment directly on the meaning of ruach here. Some ignore it, cf. Cheyne, op. cit., p. 193, Scott, op. cit., p. 358, or Fohrer, op. cit., p. 145, some speak of it obliquely in terms of Yahweh's controlling purpose, cf. Leslie, op. cit., p. 134, or James Muilenburg, "The Literary Character of Isaiah 34," Journal of Biblical Literature, 59(1940), 356. Delitszch, op. cit., p. 75, and Dillmann, op. cit., 305, relate it to the mouth of Yahweh as "breath" to the creative word. Duhm, op. cit., p. 227, thinks that the spirit, because masculine, is a personal being that had first predicted which animals would inhabit desolate Edom and then had taken the pains to see that the prophecy had a literal fulfillment through the gathering of the animals.

[49] which Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 339 ff., accepts as a single literary unit.

[50] Muilenburg, ibid., p. 345, speaks of the undoing of creation.

> Seek and read from the book of the Lord:
>   Not one of these shall be missing;
>   none shall be without her mate.
> For the mouth of the Lord has commanded,
>   and his Spirit has gathered them.
>   ורוחו חוא קבצן

There is an allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah in verses 9-10, and to Noah's ark in the above verse, "none. . .without her mate,"[51] but that is no aid in defining the role of the spirit here, for the spirit played no part in any of the early Genesis narratives. A possible explanation could be that just as the animals were preserved in the ark to reinhabit the earth after the flood, so Yahweh, through word and spirit, preserves the animals to reinhabit desolated Edom after her complete destruction. Muilenburg's description of this chapter as the "undoing of creation" is particularly suggestive here. It could be thought that just as the spirit and the word were active in creation, so they are also active at the "undoing of creation."

It seems better, however, to relate the spirit and the word to that to which they are usually related, the book of the Lord, the prophetic word, which can possibly mean the book of Isaiah's prophecies.[52] Mouth and spirit seem to stand in a parallel construction which would mean that the command of the mouth of Yahweh and the gathering done by the spirit are not separate actions but a rephrased statement of the same action. The command of the mouth of the Lord, if it is not to be left dangling here in this chapter as a line completely unrelated to what has gone before, will have to be joined to the "book of the Lord." It is in the book of the Lord that this command, spoken by the Lord through his spirit, to gather certain animals has been written, presumably by the prophet Isaiah. This is to interpret this line to mean that the spirit has gathered them in the sense that it was the spirit that inspired in the prophet Yahweh's word of command, designating certain animals to be gathered. It may also be, on the other hand, that ruach is the breath by which the word of command, written in the book of prophecy, is uttered. If this is the meaning of ruach, then the relation between ruach and word is contrary to what was apparent in Gen. 1:2.[53] Here it is the breath which gives expression to the word, incarnates it and executes it. The ruach does not leave the command "hanging in the air" but puts it into action.[54]

---

[51] although Edward Kissane, _The Book of Isaiah_ (Dublin: Richview Press, 1941), p. 389, sees in this phrase only a statement of the fact that these animals will propagate their own kind and occupy the place forever, v. 17.

---

[52] Cf. Delitszch, loc. cit., Fohrer, loc. cit., and Duhm, loc. cit.

[53] Cf. above, p. 189.

[54] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 219.

It seems best to relate both _ruach_ and the word of command to "book of the Lord" which is in the immediate context rather than to the gathering of the animals. Yahweh's word and spirit are commonly related to the prophetic word (or predictive word as the writer here may very possibly have had in mind) in the Old Testament. Relating them, however, directly to the gathering of the animals that are to inhabit desolate Edom gives _ruach_, particularly, a task which is rather unusual, to say the least, a task for which it seems to be ill-equipped. Therefore, _ruach_ should be the spirit related to the word of command as recorded by the prophet. Whether it means the breath uttering the word, or the spirit inspiring the word is not indicated in the text. It can be called the prophetic spirit because it is related to the prophetic word.

Isaiah 40:13, in a reference to the presence and activity of the spirit at the time of creation, has supposedly been mistranslated by the LXX, in its translation of "mind" for the word _ruach_.[55] The passage, with its Greek translation as quoted by Paul in Romans 11:34 and I Corinthians 2:16, reads:

---

[55] Cf. James Muilenburg, _The Book of Isaiah_, Chs. 40-66, in the IB, Vol. V, pp. 436-437. Muilenburg considers verses 13-14 to be the second strophe in this poem on the creator, verses 12-31, cf. pp. 434, 436.

12 Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand
מי-מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת תכן
and marked off the heavens with a span,
enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure
and weighed the mountains in scales
and the hills in a balance?
13 Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord,
מי־תכֵן את־רוח יהוה
(τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυριου Who has known the
mind of the Lord?)
or as his counselor has instructed him?
14 Whom did he consult for his enlightenment?
and who taught him the path of justice,
and taught him knowledge,
and showed him the way of understanding?

The interpretation[56] of ruach in this passage must be determined by three factors. The first, mentioned above, is that, in its obvious reference to the creation narrative of Genesis 1, the spirit here must be granted at least the role that it played in Genesis 1. But, second, there are indications that the spirit has been given new emphasis here. That might be shown by the use of the verb תכן . In its *piel* form, as here and in v. 12, it means "to measure" or "to regulate."

---

[56] Those who interpret *ruach* as mind include Christopher North, *The Second Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 83; James Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), p. 56; Duhm, *op. cit*., p. 262, "Organ des gottlichen Erkennens;" Skinner, *Isaiah*, Ch. 40-66 (Cambridge: U. Press, 1954), p. 9, "organ of the divine intelligence;" Dillman, *op. cit*., p. 364, "Intelligenz;" and McKane, *op. cit*., p. 243, says "the life-giving principle in the Deity. . ." Edward Kissane, *op. cit*., p. 14, calls it "the wisdom of Yahweh." And Claus Westermann, *op. cit*., p. 44, swims against the tide by saying that the *ruach* is not the all-encompassing spiritual nature of Yahweh as Volz claims, or the organ of the divine intellect as Duhm claims, but rather the wonderful, effective power of God.

But the qal form of this verb is used three times in the Old Testament, all in the book of Proverbs: 16:2, 21:2, and 24:12. 16:2 reads, "All the ways of a man are pure in his own eyes, but the Lord weighs the spirit (תכן רוחות). 21:2 is the same but substitutes "heart" for "spirit." 24:12 reads: "If you say, 'Behold, we did not know this,' does not he who weighs the heart perceive it?" "Weighing the heart" must have reference to the Egyptian god Horus who weighed the hearts of the dead before Osiris, the judge. When Deutero-Isaiah uses an expression as unusual as תכן רוח , the conclusion must be that he was acquainted with its use in the wisdom school, where ruach and lebh seem to have been used interchangeably, and possibly with the Egyptian myth, in which the "heart" stood for the volitional and intelligent center of the human being which was "weighed" at death to judge whether it was good or bad. And the further conclusion must be, then, that the prophet, whose "wisdom" characteristics in this passage are pronounced,[57] used the spirit of the Lord to mean more than his creative power, as it is described in Genesis 1:2, but also the volitional and intelligent center of being of God himself. The prophet is saying that no one can be in a position to "judge," to "weigh," to "measure"

---

[57] Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 437, and McKane, loc. cit., and others have commented on the wisdom elements in this text.

God's spirit, in the sense that it is his will and intelligent purpose, for it is rather Yahweh who, as God and as creator, weighs men's hearts.

The fact that spirit in this passage is equivalent to "heart," in the Old Testament sense of will and intelligence, is confirmed by the third element which determines the meaning of spirit: the following context. The series of words -- "instructed," "enlightenment," "taught," "knowledge," "understanding" -- all seem to support the meaning of "mind" for ruach, and certainly guided the translators of the LXX when they used νοῦν rather than πνεῦμα for ruach. It has been argued that if the prophet meant "mind" he would have used lebh.[58] But if he had done so, he would have lost the allusion to Genesis 1 and to the spirit of God as such. The evidence seems to be, in favor of this interpretation, that the prophet means to preserve the meaning of spirit that is found in Genesis 1:2, creative power, but that he has added to it the meanings of intelligence and volition. The spirit of Yahweh in 40:13 is the volitional and intelligent center of the very being of Yahweh himself, the purposeful power with which he planned and created the world, a meaning quite unique in the O.T.

---

[58] Muilenburg, loc. cit.

In the case of the Servant, Isaiah 42:1, as with the messianic king, Isaiah 11:2, it is the endowment with the spirit of God that will equip him for the mission to which he is called.

> 1 Behold my servant, whom I uphold,
> my chosen, in whom my soul delights;
> I have put my spirit upon him,
> נתתי רוחי עליו
> he will bring forth justice to the nations.
> 2 He will not cry or lift up his voice,
> or make it heard in the street. . .

The Servant, through the spirit, receives the charisma which enables him to accomplish his task, the task which in most respects is prophetic.[59] It is pastoral (v. 3a,b). But it is primarily kerygmatic, the proclamation of mishpat[60] (v. 1, 3, 4), the Yahwistic faith, the belief in the true God, to the nations. As a prophet he appears to be modeled after Moses in Numbers 11:17, who was endowed with the spirit and as such was considered to be a prophet (v. 29). And as the law, the torah, which means more than a body of laws and should be interpreted as equivalent to *mishpat*, was mediated through Moses, so the new *torah* will be mediated through the Servant (4b). As Moses mediated the covenant and led his people out of bondage, so the Servant is the mediator of a new covenant to the nations, whom he will lead out of bondage, vv. 7-8.[61] But unlike the early ecstatic *nebiim*, whose violent conduct under the influence of the spirit came into disrepute, the Servant "will not cry or lift up his voice, or make it heard in the street."[62] That is to say, the *spirit* will make him a loving and gentle pastor of those who are placed in his care.[63] In this passage the spirit of Yahweh is the gift-bestowing spirit which not only inspires the message of the servant, but also makes of the Servant the kind of individual that, through his person, can influence the people of the nations and bring them to know the true God.[64]

---

[59] Cf. John Skinner, op. cit., p. 30. Smart, op. cit., p. 82, says, "Endowment with the spirit may be either prophetic or kingly and here it may be a blending of both, even as in the past both prophets and kings were called servants of God." Westermann, op. cit., p. 78, says that this is a divine selection of a king because it is a public designation ("behold") whereas the call of a prophet was by its very nature private.

[60] Smart, op. cit., p. 83, says that mishpat is parallel "to what in the New Testament is called the Kingdom of God."

---

[61] Cf. Koch, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110, and von Rad, *Theology*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[62] Cf. Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[63] Smart, *ibid.*, p. 83, says, "God's Spirit resting upon him indicates the intimacy of his relation with God, the identity of the purpose he fulfills with the purpose of God, and the presence of God's power in him to ensure the fulfillment."

[64] C. A. Briggs, "The Use of רוּחַ in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XIX(1900), 142-3, sees a reference in this passage to the ancient "heroic leaders of Israel," (the judges?) in terms of "executive and administrative power."

The mission of the Servant and its accomplishment is further elucidated in 44:3-5:

> 3 For I will pour water on the thirsty land,
> and streams on the dry ground;
> I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants,
> אצק רוחי על-זרעך
> and my blessing on your off-spring.
> 4 They shall spring up like grass amid waters,
> like willows by flowing streams.
> 5 This one will say, 'I am the Lord's,'
> another will call himself by the name of Jacob. . .

The promise is given for the new age that the work of the Servant (vv. 1,2) will be aided by the spirit, poured out as a life-giving stream on the parched and desolate hearts, not only of the physical sons of Israel who had turned away from Yahweh, but also on non-Israelites. Here for the first time is described the spiritual regeneration, both of individual members of the congregation of Israel and of non-Israelites, attributed to the spirit of God.[65] It is the life-giving power of God that accomplishes this. As in Isaiah 32:15 ff. the regeneration of hearts is accompanied by a regeneration of nature. Just as the "life" given at the time of creation was not separated into "physical" and "spiritual," and just as nature was subjected to futility, so in the new age nature participates in the spiritual regeneration of mankind.[66] The life-giving spirit will be "poured out" without measure, bringing to life both man and nature.

---

[65] If only Israelites are meant there would be no purpose in their taking the name "Jacob" or "Israel." It would only be unusual and worthy of comment if a non-Israelite were to claim membership in the elect people and confess Yahweh as his Lord (v. 5). Thus Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 503.

Isaiah 48:16 is an assertion by the prophet of his inspiration by the spirit: "And now the Lord God has sent me and his Spirit." (ורוחו) Although it is the only place where the prophet appears and speaks of himself in the first person, that in itself is not sufficient evidence to consider it a gloss, as many commentators have done.[67] Nor it is so strange that the prophet claims the gift of the prophetic spirit, for Ezekiel, his earlier contemporary, did it frequently. Nor have convincing reasons for such an interpolation been advanced. It seems more logical to believe that the assertion of prophetic inspiration and divine authentication was necessary after the announcement by the prophet, v. 14, regarding the coming of Cyrus, that "the Lord loves him." There must have been objections from his listeners to this declaration. So he asserts that in speaking as he had, he is only speaking the word given him by the spirit and fulfilling the mission entrusted to him by God.[68]

---

[66] Cf. Muilenburg, _ibid_., p. 502.

[67] So Skinner, _op_. _cit_., p. 93, or Duhm, _op_. _cit_., p. 328. Muilenburg, _op_. _cit_., pp. 560, says the text is misplaced or corrupt. Westermann, _op_. _cit_., p. 167, says it may be a gloss by Trito-Isaiah.

The function of the spirit in Isaiah 59:21 is not immediately evident:

> 20 "And he will come to Zion as Redeemer,
> to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the Lord.
> 21 "And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: My spirit which is upon you (רוחי אשר עליך), and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore."[69]

"My words" are not the law (cf. Ex. 19:7,8; 20:1; Deut. 30:

---

[68] The context also speaks against the interpretation that the speaker is the Servant as proposed by F. Delitzsch, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 252. The sending of Cyrus is the subject of this oracle, vv. 14-16, and any such summary mention of the Servant would be out of place in the passage. There is the possibility that this line is misplaced, cf. Muilenburg, loc. cit., although granting this possibility does not affect the basic function of the spirit as God's gift to his chosen servant, be it the prophet or the Servant. But the congruity of this line, 16d, with the whole passage understood in the situation in which the oracle was proclaimed argues strongly for its authenticity. Cf. G. A. F. Knight, Deutero-Isaiah (New York: Abingdon, 1965), p. 173, who believes that it is Deutero-Isaiah who is here asserting his prophetic authority, and also Lindblom, op. cit., p. 176, footnote 10, who concedes, however, that the "last words may of course have been subsequently added by the prophet to the original revelation," because of the fact that Yahweh is the speaker in 15, 16ab, changing suddenly to the prophet in 16c.

[69] Verse 21 is considered by some to be misplaced, cf. Cheyne, op. cit., p. 86, or Skinner, op. cit., p. 195; by others to be an addition made by the editor of the Isaianic oracles or by "another disciple of Second Isaiah," cf. Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 696, and by a third group to be in its proper place, cf. Smart, op. cit., p. 252, and Leslie, op. cit. p. 218, but considered by most commentators to be a fitting conclusion to this collection of oracles, cf. Muilenburg, loc. cit., Smart, loc. cit., and Leslie, loc. cit.

14),[70] which is never spoken of in the Old Testament as inspired by the spirit, and never associated directly with the spirit. Rather, "my words" indicates God's direct guidance communicated through his word, which has been placed in the mouth of the Servant, Israel, cf. 51:16.[71] Although it is not expressly so stated, the mention of the spirit in this context would indicate that the word placed in the mouth of the individual believer in Israel is inspired by the spirit. It is the word which hitherto has been in the mouth of the prophets but which henceforth will not be restricted to certain select individuals.[72] The covenant is not a new covenant but the fulfillment of the old,[73] and recalls a similar promise in Haggai 2:4,5: "I am with you . . . according to the promise that I made you when you came out of Egypt. My Spirit abides among you. . ." The spirit, however, should not be separated from the word. It is the spirit given to the Servant, cf. 42:1, which will enable him to perform his prophetic task. It is the Servant, Israel, that is also addressed in 59:21, to whom the spirit and the words of God have already been granted. God's guiding presence through the spirit, and the word he inspires is the realization of the covenant promise. It is the presence of his spirit which gives the assurance that the salvation proclaimed in v. 20 is not long in coming.[74] The presence of the spirit is "realized" through the word and signifies the actual guiding presence of Yahweh himself.

---

[70] _Contra_ Eichrodt, _Theologie_, op. cit., p. 29, footnote 4, and Duhm, _op_. _cit_., p. 417.

[71] Cf. Kissane, _op_. _cit_., p. 251, Delitzsch, _op_. _cit_., pp. 408-9, and Muilenburg, _loc_. _cit_., "the prophetic word . . ."

[72] Cf. Imschoot, "L'Esprit et l'alliance," _op_. _cit_., p. 211.

[73] Cf. Duhm, _loc_. _cit_.

Isaiah 61:1ff. speaks of the spirit as the source of the prophet's message proclaiming the year of Jubilee, cf. Lev. 25:9ff.

> 1 The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,
> רוח. . .עלי
> because the Lord has anointed me
> to bring good tidings to the afflicted;
> he has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted,
> to proclaim liberty to the captives,
> and the opening of the prison to those
> who are bound;
> 2 to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. . .

The reiteration of the word, "proclaim," and its synonyms leaves no doubt that the prophet or the prophetic Servant is the subject.[75] The spirit is given because of the anointing, but since there is no record of the anointing of prophets in the Old Testament (I Kgs. 19:16 may have been figurative -- there is no record that it was actually carried out), the anointing should not be understood literally but as symbolic of the call and consecration of the prophet.[76] When the Lord calls a prophet to a task, he equips him with the means of accomplishing it, with the power to proclaim and with the word which is to be proclaimed. The spirit inspires the prophetic word.

---

[74] Cf. Muilenburg, *loc. cit.*

[75] W. Caspari, "Der Geist des Herrn ist über mir," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 40(1929), 729-736, understands the speaker to be the High Priest. Against this interpretation, however, is the fact that nowhere in the O.T. is a prophetic role given to the high priest nor is the spirit ever

Just as Isaiah 61:1 looked to the future, so 63:7-14 is a hymn to the saving acts of Yahweh seen in historical retrospect, itself a part of the community Klagelied of 63:7-64:11. After verses 8-9, which tell in a general way how Yahweh saved and cared for his people through the course

---

associated with the priestly office. However, cf. Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 432. Those who see a prophetic figure here, whether the prophet or the Servant, include Smart, op. cit., p. 259, Fohrer, op. cit., p. 235, Westermann, op. cit., p. 291, and Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 709. Smart, op. cit., p. 260, argues with some reason that there are kingly features here as well as prophetic. Cf. Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 425. This is seen both in the mention of the anointing, but also in the fact that the proclamation of Jubilee was actually the prerogative of the king, cf. Jer. 34:8-9. However, even though there might be hints of kingly features, the fact remains that the speaker is either the prophet himself or the Servant. The prophet is of course not a king. And the Servant is always presented in predominately prophetic terms in Is. 40-66.

[76] So Koch, op. cit., p. 124, and Skinner, op. cit., p. 205.

of their history ("carried them all the days of old"), verse 10ff. continues:

10 But they rebelled
and grieved his holy spirit;
ועצבו אתדוח קדשו
therefore he turned to be their enemy,
and himself fought against them.
11 Then he remembered the days of old,
of Moses his servant.
Where is he who brought up out of the sea
the shepherds of his flock?
Where is he who put in the midst of them
his holy Spirit,רוח קדשו
12 who caused his glorious arm
to go at the right hand of Moses,
who divided the waters before them
to make for himself an everlasting name,
13 who led them through the depths?
Like a horse in the desert,
they did not stumble.
14 Like cattle that go down into the valley,
the Spirit of the Lord gave them rest.
רוח יהוה תניחנו
So thou didst lead they people,
to make for thyself a glorious name.

Verse 10 speaks about the exile, because v. 11 states that "he remembered the days of old," seemingly far removed in time from the action of v. 10. In the shock of the exile, Israel remembered the old narratives, how Yahweh brought Israel through the sea, equipped its leaders with the spirit, led the people through the desert and settled them, again by the guidance of the holy spirit, in Canaan. All of this is recalled at a time when the guidance of the spirit is no longer experienced, when God is no longer present through his spirit to aid and succor his people during the dark days of the exile.

First of all it is necessary to examine the three lines where *ruach* is used in order to understand the meaning that is given to spirit in each one. Spirit in v. 10 has usually been interpreted to mean an emotion on the part of Yahweh,[77] and the phrase "grieved his holy spirit" is frequently used as proof of the personalization of the spirit.[78]

A closer look at the verb עצבו is necessary, however. The fact that it is a transitive verb denoting action *upon* the spirit, and not intransitive, describing an emotion of the spirit, is important, for it is usually interpreted in the latter sense. The verb in *qal* is עצב . It is true that in the *niphal* this verb can have the sense of "grieving for something," as David grieved for Absalom (II Sam. 19:2), or "feeling" physical pain, as when a stone-cutter is struck by a flying stone (Eccl. 10:9). But neither the *qal*, the *piel*, nor the *hiphil* carries such a meaning in any text in the Old Testament; and the verb in Isaiah 63:10 is *piel*. Judging from the use of the word in the Old Testament, the transitive sense of this verb appears to be one of imposing one's will on someone or something, or of opposing one's will against another's. For example, I Kings 1:6 says of Adonijah: "His father had never at any time displeased (לא-עצבו) him by asking, 'why have you done thus and so?'" That is, David had never opposed Adonijah nor crossed his will. In I Chronicles 4:10 it is written of Jabez that he "called on the God of Israel, saying, 'Oh that thou wouldst bless me and enlarge my border. . .and that thou wouldst keep me from harm so that it might no hurt (עצבי) me!'" It was not the physical pain or psychological grief he sought to avoid, but as is clear from the context, he is asking to be protected from any opposition that will hurt his chances of enlarging his estate. Psalm 56:5 expresses it even more clearly: "All day long they seek to injure (יעצבי) my cause; all their thoughts are against me for evil." The Psalmist's enemies are opposing him, seeking to frustrate him in all he attempts to do. Even when עצב is used in a purely physical sense, as in Job 10:8, or Jeremiah 44:19, the fundamental meaning is to shape an object according to the maker's will. This must also apply to the verb and its object in Isaiah 63:10. Instead of "grieved," the translation should be "opposed" or "resisted." The writer did not intend to say that the spirit "grieved," but he did mean to say that Israel had opposed the spirit of Yahweh, she rebelled against his guidance (v. 10a). This not only eliminates any grounds for believing that the spirit is significantly personalized here, it also eliminates the interpretation of _ruach_ in this verse as emotion or disposition. On the contrary, if Israel rebelled and resisted Yahweh's holy _ruach_, _ruach_ must mean his holy will for Israel, the guidance Yahweh offered her through her history, cf. v. 9.

---

[77] Thus, e.g., Abraham Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 317, who conceives of *ruach* as pathos in some instances and interprets 63:10 to mean that Yahweh has experienced grief in his spirit.

[78] Thus Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 222, Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 144, or Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 456, who states that the spirit, according to this verse, can feel grief, or Fohrer, *op. cit.*, p. 249, "die Personifikation seiner Gefühle und Regungen. . ."

Spirit in v. 11b is usually interpreted as referring to the event in Num. 11:17ff., the spirit given to Moses or the elders or both.[79] In the original passage, Num. 11:17ff., the spirit was the charismatic spirit but here it is meant as an example of Yahweh's guidance and loving care for his people. So _ruach_ in v. 11 has essentially the same meaning as in v. 10.

Verse 14b presents the problem that here there is no recognizable allusion to an event or period in Israel's history unless perhaps it is a reference to the charismatic spirit on the judges through whose efforts, according to the Book of Judges, Israel was allowed to settle down in Canaan and eventually spread out into the more fertile lowlands. Whether the reference is to the judges or not, the following line "so thou didst lead thy people" makes it evident that again the meaning or function of the ruach here is Yahweh's guidance. Some commentators,[80] furthermore, suggest or accept Kittel's proposed emendation of תַנְחֶנּוּ for תְנִחֶנּוּ for which there is evidence in the versions, giving the meaning of "led them" rather than "gave them rest." This only emphasizes the meaning of guidance found not only in the three occurrences of ruach but also through this whole section.[81] It is, however, Yahweh himself who led. There is no essential difference between the leading of the spirit and the leading of Yahweh.

---

[79] Cf. Leslie, _op. cit._, p. 231, Kissane, _op. cit._, pp. 296-7, Muilenburg, _op. cit._, p. 734, and Skinner, _op. cit._, p. 223, et al.

Two further comments can be made about the spirit in these verses. First, the spirit does not participate in the struggle against the sea, although it is tempting to see in 11c a reference to Exodus 15:8, 10. But the spirit is reserved for action in man.[82] It is not even Moses' arm (Ex. 14:21a) but only Yahweh himself who divides the sea. The spirit is seen to be the means, par excellence, by which, working through his chosen leaders, God led his nation, not only in the early days (vv. 11, 14) but right up to the exile (v. 10).

---

[80] Smart, op. cit., p. 269, and Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 735.

[81] Muilenburg, loc. cit., says, "The thought of Yahweh's leading dominates this whole section and comes to its splendid culmination in the last two lines."

[82] Cf. Lys, op. cit., pp. 155-6.

Secondly, it is called a "holy spirit." The spirit partakes of the nature of Yahweh himself. Through use of the term "holy spirit" the guidance and power of Yahweh granted to Israel is described in terms of purpose, whether or not the purpose is good, and whether or not the recipient of the spirit is worthy. It says as much about the realm of activity of the spirit as about the nature of the spirit itself.

This passage, in describing the function of the spirit as guidance, has clearly shown the element of will in the spirit. And in describing the spirit as "holy," the prophet has defined an ethical element which has not previously been explicitly present.

Ezekiel 1:12, 20, 21, and 10:17 use ruach to designate the motivating impulse of the chariot upon which Yahweh rode in his theophany, motive power both in the wheels and in the four living creatures. In regard to the four living creatures, called "cherubim" in 10:17, it is stated in 1:12 that "wherever the spirit would go (אל-אשר יהיה-שמה הרוח ללכת), they went, without turning as they went." Likewise in v. 20, and 21 it reads:

> Wherever the spirit would go, they went, and the wheels rose along with them; for the spirit of the living creatures (כי רוח החיה) was in the wheels. When those went, these went; and when those

> stood, these stood; and when those rose from the earth, the wheels rose along with them; for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels.

It should be observed that "spirit" is masculine and has the article, while the theophanic wind of v. 4 is feminine and anarthrous. The prophet evidently wished to distinguish the two, so that it is not the wind of v. 4 that provides the motive power for the chariot. However, although the RSV translates רוח החיה as "spirit of the living creatures," the fact that, with the exception of v. 22, "living creatures" is always in the plural makes this translation suspect. If Ezekiel had meant the spirit of the living creatures, he would have been expected to have used חיות instead of חיה ,[83] or at least a plural possessive. It has been argued that he used חיה as a collective singular,[84] but a collective singular only applies in the case of an indefinite number and would not normally be used for "four creatures."[85] It is possible that חיה could be a distributive,[86] referring to each creature individually. But for several reasons it seems preferable to translate רוח החיה as "the spirit of life."[87] 1. The article and the masculine gender are used for emphasis and indicate more than the ordinary spirit which would be found in the four living creatures, but rather The Spirit. 2. The four living creatures, according to 10:17, are in reality nothing more than temple furniture, being the cherubim over the ark, and as such have as much need as the wheels to be vivified by the spirit.[88] 3. Because Ezekiel shows such great familiarity with the work of the spirit of God elsewhere in his book, it is difficult to believe he would use any other spirit than the spirit of God as the motive power and directing will of a theophany. In other words, it is God's own spirit which is the vivifying power in the theophanic vehicle, and it moves according to God's decision.[89] This is similar in function to the spirit of Yahweh as used in Isaiah 40:13, although perhaps less profound in meaning. As in Isaiah 40, the spirit is the volitional and intelligent center of God's being. It is "the energizing and directing power of the theophany. . ."[90]

---

[83] Cf. Volz, op. cit., p. 44.

[84] Cf. C. F. Keil, Prophecies of Ezekiel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), p. 28.

[85] Cf. Volz, loc. cit.

[86] Cf. G. A. Cooks, The Book of Ezekiel (Cambridge: U. Press, 1906), p. 27.

---

[87] חיים is the usual word for life but חיה is used for life in Ezek. 7:13; Job 33:18, 20, 22, 28; Psalm 74:19 and 143:3.

[88] For points one and two and the conclusion reached cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 128.

[89] Cf. Herbert G. May, Ezekiel in the IB, Vol. VI, p. 72, and Cooke, op. cit., p. 12, who prefer the translation "spirit of the living creatures," but interpret spirit to mean the divine spirit; also C. A. Briggs, The Book of Psalms (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906), Vol. II, p. 493, "divine energy," and Walther Zimmerli, Ezechiel (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), p. 68, who believes that originally Ezekiel only used הרוח absolutely as in v. 12 to mean the spirit of Yahweh, the throne chariot thus being guided by the will of Yahweh, but through expansion of the text by Ezekiel's disciples, ruach came to be qualified by חיה.

The same energizing and directing power of the spirit is indicated in a series of texts beginning with 2:2 and ending with 43:5:

> 2:1-2 And he said to me, "Son of man, stand upon your feet, and I will speak with you." And when he spoke to me, the Spirit entered into me and set me upon my feet (ותבא בי רוח כאשר דבר אלי ותעמדני על-רגלי): and I heard him speaking to me.
>
> 3:12 Then the Spirit lifted me up. . .I heard. . .
>
> 14 The Spirit lifted me up and took me away, and I went in bitterness in the heat of my spirit, the hand of the Lord being strong upon me; and I come to the exiles at Tel-abib. . .
>
> 24 But the Spirit entered into me and set me upon my feet. . .
>
> 8:3 He put forth the form of a hand, and took me by a lock of my head; and the Spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven, and brought me in visions of God to Jerusalem. . .

---

[90] W. R. Schoemaker, op. cit., p. 26; cf. also supra, Chapter IV, Section II, where it was noted that ruach in man developed the same meaning in the direction of volition and emotion in approximately the same period. It was, however, a theomorphism rather than a true anthropomorphism.

> 11:1 The Spirit lifted me up, and brought me. . .
>
> 5 And the Spirit of the Lord fell upon me, and he said to me. . .
>
> 24 And the Spirit lifted me up and brought me in the vision by the Spirit of God into Chaldea, to the exiles.
>
> 37:1 The hand of the Lord was upon me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of the Lord, and set me down. . .
>
> 43:5 the Spirit lifted me up, and brought me into the inner court. . .

Ruach is consistently feminine and anarthrous throughout this series of passages. The article and the masculine gender were necessary in 1:12 to distinguish the spirit from the wind of v. 4, and also to identify it as the spirit of God and not of the living creatures. Now that Yahweh has been introduced (1:28), Ezekiel reverts to the usual feminine gender and drops the article as unnecessary for identification.[91] In every case except 11:5 the spirit is a transporting power. The ecstatic condition, if it is such, appears to be brought on by the "hand" of God (1:3, 3:22, 8:1, 8:3, 33:22, 37:1, 40:1).[92] There is no transporting by the hand of God in Ezekiel corresponding to the action of the hand of God upon Elijah (I Kgs. 18:46). When Ezekiel writes, "The hand of the Lord was upon me," he seems to be describing his sensation of being seized by the power of God as psychological preparation for receiving a vision, in other words, an ecstatic condition. So the ecstatic condition is not caused by the spirit of Yahweh coming on him. Nor does the spirit speak or inspire the word in the prophet.[93] It is always God himself who speaks, as it is stated, "the word of the Lord came to me." And only in 11:24 is there even a possibility that the spirit was the source of the visions that Ezekiel saw. Although 11:24 does not exclude the possibility that the vision was "by the Spirit of the Lord," it is more probable that he was "brought" by the Spirit of God. So the conclusion must be that the spirit does not cause the ecstatic condition which was expressed by the "hand of Yahweh," nor does it inspire the prophetic word, but rather, the spirit was the power of God that transported Ezekiel. This is confirmed by the fact that the spirit does not "fall" upon him, except in 11:5, but "enters in," "lifted," "took," "brought," and "set down." Furthermore, he does not fall down, but "stands up" (2:2), he does not lose consciousness but can hear (3:12), so that in spite of the outward similarities with the ancient nebiim, the action of the spirit is quite different here.[94]

---

[91] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 130.

[92] For a discussion of the spirit in relation to the hand, the mouth, the face, of Yahweh, cf. Imschoot, "L'Action de l'esprit," op. cit., p. 587. For a discussion of the hand of God in Ezekiel cf. Zimmerli, op. cit., pp. 47-50. For a discussion of the observation that the same activities are often ascribed to both spirit and hand with a listing of pertinent texts, cf. Scheepers, op. cit., p. 190.

---

[93] Westphal, op. cit., p. 75, says that the spirit is the one that speaks to the prophet in Ezekiel 11:5, but he has overlooked the fact that the spirit is feminine while the verb "said" is masculine.

These differences show that the spirit transporting Ezekiel is the same spirit that was encountered in 1:12, 20, and 21. For the spirit that carries Ezekiel is not a blind motivating power but is purposive. He is carried to Jerusalem to see a vision of God, or to hear the word of the Lord (11:5), or to receive his initial commission (2:3 ff.). It is the volitional and intelligent power of God, and not some dumb force, that moves him. "'Son of man' here, as in Psalm 8, shows the weakness of creature-man and as such, Ezekiel can only be enabled to stand before his Lord and receive his commission through the power of the spirit, the divine life-breath which continually renews the creature world. . ."[95] The spirit in 2:2 differs in no way from the spirit of 1:12.

With Ezekiel 36:27, in a passage which is closely related to Jeremiah 31:31 ff., the Old Testament reaches its climax in the description of the activity of God's spirit. From verse 24 it reads:

---

[94] This being at the absolute disposition of the Spirit of God was noted above in Chapter V in the case of Elijah and appears again in the New Testament in Acts 8:39.

[95] W. Eichrodt, Der Prophet Hesekiel Kapitel 1-18 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959), p. 10.

> For I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land. [25]I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. [26]A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. [27]And I will put my spirit within you, ואת-רוחי אתן נקרבכם and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. [28]You shall dwell in the land which I gave to your fathers; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God.

Through the sprinkling, old weeds are cleared away; then through the creation of a new heart, new ground is provided, and with the giving of the spirit of God, an obedient and fruitful life can spring forth.

This text represents a climax in the Old Testament presentation of the spirit in several respects. 1. The spirit is placed at the heart and center of the new covenant. The covenant terminology in v. 29 is unmistakable, "my people. . . your God." In the period of the Old covenant, when the spirit appeared it invariably stood in the service of the covenant. But the age of the new covenant, according to this text, will also be characterized by the activity of the spirit. It is through the spirit that the obligations of the covenant will be realized, "cause you to walk. . .and. . .to observe."[96]

---

[96] G. A. Cooke, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 312, says about the expression, "cause you to walk," that the "expression is hardly paralleled in the Hebr. of the O.T."

The members of the new Israel will be enabled to know and to obey God's will through the power of God's own spirit,[97] because the spirit is to be placed into the heart of each individual. It is as if the will of God were to be placed in each individual in the place of his own refractory heart.[98]

2. The spirit performs his work not only in the nation or community, as in the time of the judges, but in each individual, cf. v. 27, "my spirit within you (pl.)," "cause you (pl.) to walk. . ." Nor are they to be select individuals.

---

[97] Georg Fohrer, Ezechiel (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), p. 205, and W. Eichrodt, op. cit., Kapitel 19-48, p. 351, both emphasize the fact that the obedience will not be brought about by compulsion but will instead be free and spontaneous, a willing obedience because it is the work of the spirit of God. Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 879, emphasizes the fact that the giving of the spirit is not only insight or understanding but strength and power.

[98] Cf. von Rad, Theology II, op. cit., p. 213-215, who writes, "the whole process of God's speaking and man's listening is to be dropped. This road of listening to the divine will had not led Israel to obedience. Jahweh is, as it were, to by-pass the process of speaking and listening, and to put his will straight into Israel's heart. We should completely ignore the distinction between outward obedience and obedience of the heart, for it scarcely touches the antithesis in Jeremiah's mind. . . If God's will ceases to confront and judge men from outside themselves, if God puts his will directly into their hearts, then, properly speaking, the rendering of obedience is completely done away with, for the problem of obedience only arises when man's will is confronted by an alien will. Now however, the possibility of such a confrontation has ceased to exist, for men are to have the will of God in their heart, and are only to will God's will. . . This is Jeremiah's way of speaking of a future outpouring of God's spirit, for what he thinks of is nothing other than a spiritual knowledge and observance of the will of God. Ezekiel after him is to speak in the same sense of the spirit's being planted in what had hitherto been the stony heart."

Each member of the cleansed community will share in the gift of the spirit of God.[99] 3. The spirit no longer is to work on a man but in a man. The spirit penetrates to the heart of the individual and cleanses, renews, and guides him to God. This interiority of the work of the spirit will bring about a regeneration in the heart of each individual.[100]

The life-bestowing spirit is described as granting that life without which there is no true life, a life cleansed and renewed through the knowledge of an obedience to God's will. The fact should again be noted that the life-giving spirit regenerates all of nature together with man (v. 29, 30; cf. Is. 32:15 ff. 44:3), creating a new Eden, 36:35, together with the creation of the new humanity, and the new covenant.

It has been said that Exekiel 37 presents the image whose reality is realized in 26:24-32.[101] In a vision Ezekiel is brought to a valley full of bones. After conversation with the Lord in regard to whether the bones could live again,

---

[99] Cf. Koch, op. cit., p. 200, who, in comparing this text with Ps. 51, says that the Psalmist limits the gift of the spirit to the little circle of the pious but here the prophet has in mind all the members of the messianic community.

[100] Cf. Imschoot, "L'Esprit. . .et l'alliance," op. cit., pp. 219-222, from whom much of this paragraph has been taken.

[101] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 133, footnote 2.

Ezekiel is commanded by the Lord to prophesy "to the breath" in order that it will come and make the dry bones alive again. As Ezekiel obeys, the breath comes into the bones and they become alive. This (v. 10) appears to be the end of the vision, after which Yahweh explains the meaning of the vision. Yahweh himself is "to open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people; and I will bring you home into the land of Israel" (v. 12). Verse 14 continues: "And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live (ונתתי רוחי בכם וחייתם), and I will place you in your own land. . ." The passage speaks about the resurrection of the nation.[102] Israel in exile is a dead corporate body because the people are separated from Yahweh, the only source of life (cf. v. 11: "we are clean cut off"). But just as Yahweh through his life-giving spirit breathed life into the inert clay and called into life the first man, so now he can, through the same spirit, revive the corporate body of the people Israel and return them to their own land. Verses 1 to 10,[103] in an obvious reference to Genesis 2:7, describe figuratively by means of a vision the reality that is explained in vv. 11-14. The author of the "breath" in vv. 9-10 is introduced in v. 14.[104] It is the spirit of Yahweh which gives life, and which can also restore life to that which is dead.

---

[102] E. Jacob, Theology, *op. cit.*, p. 310, cannot be correct when he sees in this chapter a veiled reference to the resurrection of the dead as found in Daniel 12. The explanation of v. 11, "these bones are the whole house of Israel," is too precise to allow even a hint of an individual resurrection.

[103] The *ruach* in 9-10 is the breath in every creature, symbolic of life. But breath does not make alive, especially

But something more is meant than the physical revival of Israel as a nation. Yahweh cannot be satisfied with returning Israel to her own land under the same conditions which caused her exile. That is why 36:24-32 must be understood as a further explanation of 34:11-14.[105] Life for Israel means more than existence as a people. It means to live in a relationship of obedience towards Yahweh and a constant realization of Yahweh's presence among them. Ch. 37:11-14 is explained in the light of 36:24-32 and 39:29. The life that is given through the spirit is at the same time physical and spiritual. Cut off from the source of this life, there can only be death, physical and spiritual.[106]

---

breath coming from the four winds (for the meaning of "from the four winds," see Chapter IV, footnote 7). Only God makes alive. So verses 9-10 explain the enlivening _process_ whose _author_ ("my spirit") is described in v. 14. The spirit of God is not described in verses 9-10, only the human breath.

[104] Cf. Zimmerli, _op_. _cit_., p. 898.

[105] Cf. _loc_. _cit_.

[106] Lys, _op_. _cit_., p. 134, says that Ch. 37 joins the _ruach_ of Ch. 1 and the _ruach_ acting on Ezekiel in Ch. 2. For

This leads to the last great spirit text of Ezekiel, 39:29. After he restores Israel to her own land, Yahweh promises further: "I will not hide my face any more from them, when I pour out my Spirit (אשר שפכתי את-רוחי על) upon the house of Israel, says the Lord God."

Two interpretations are possible here, involving the work of the spirit. Some commentators see this text as a summary of chapters 36 and 37, and interpret it to mean that Yahweh will no longer hide his face from his people only because the spirit poured out on Israel will have cleansed Israel enabling her to live in Yahweh's presence.[107] This would relate 39:29 to 39:23-24, and would make of the spirit a sanctifying power. The other interpretation would directly relate the spirit to the presence of Yahweh, meaning that Yahweh reveals himself through the giving of the spirit.[108] There is no sure indication from the text itself which is

---

the spirit was _in_ the chariot, animating and directing, but the spirit was _on_ Ezekiel animating and directing. In Chaps. 36-37 the spirit is _in_ man animating and directing.

[107] Cf. Keil, _op. cit._, II, pp. 178, 179, and A. B. Davidson, _Ezekiel_ (Cambridge: U. Press, 1906), p. 287.

[108] Cf. Eichrodt, _op. cit._, p. 372, and Zimmerli, _op. cit._, p. 970, who comments, "Die Geistmitteilung ist hier als die letzte, unwiderrufliche Einung Jahwes mit seinem Volke bezeichnet."

the best interpretation. Perhaps the second interpretation is best because it takes the text at face value without having to read further meaning into it. If this is the correct interpretation, then the work of the spirit in 39:29 will be to mediate the presence of Yahweh among his own people. He had hid his face from them because of their uncleanness and their transgressions (v. 24); that is, he had denied them communion with himself because of their sin. Cut off from the source of their life, they had, figuratively speaking, perished in exile. But now, a time is coming when through the pouring out of his spirit, when the spirit is given without stint, it will be as if Yahweh himself abides in their midst. Here, the spirit is more than "power" of Yahweh, it is the fulness of the divine presence.[109]

Joel.[110] A well-known text dealing with the spirit of God is Joel 3:1-2, because it was quoted in Peter's sermon on Pentecost:

---

[109] Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 135, suggests that the spirit here renews Israel to become a witness to the nations.

[110] Joel has been dated anywhere from 840 B.C., to 600 B.C., to 350 B.C., cf. Weiser, *op. cit.*, p. 240, who dates it to 400. There seems to be widespread agreement, however, on its post-exilic origin. However, a dating after the Ezra-Nehemiah period seems questionable. The only proof cited for such a late date is the mention of "walls" in 2:7, 9. But there is no indication whatsoever that these are the walls of Jerusalem. The reference to the movement of locusts and/or soldiers is so general that it could very well be any wall in

1 "And it shall come to pass afterward,
that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh;
אשפוך את־רוחי על־כל־בשר
Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
your old men shall dream dreams,
and your young men shall see visions.

2 Even upon the menservants and maidservants
in those days, I will pour out my spirit.

These two verses appear to stand by themselves in the immediate context. Whether they are considered to be part of the one section 2:18-4:21,[111] interpreted as the oracle of Yahweh given in response to the plea and repentance of the congregation, or whether they are considered to be part of the section 3:1-4:21[112] which describes the signs of the day of the Lord, it must be observed that they are joined only loosely to what immediately precedes[113] (v. 27 has the sound of a conclusion), and not at all to what follows. If this is true, it means that the interpreter of these verses cannot

---

any city. Isaiah 56:5 mentions walls but no one would suggest a post-Nehemiah date for III Isaiah for that reason. On the other hand, the book seems to lack quite completely the spirit or the theology of the Ezra reform and the resulting Judaistic community. It appears preferable to date it after 516 and before the Ezra reform, that is, in the period being considered in this section. Cf. S. R. Driver, *Joel and Amos* (Cambridge: U. Press, 1915), p. 25, who dates it ca. 500 B.C.

[111] Cf. Arvid Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (Uppsala; Almqvist and Wiksells, 1948), p. 7, or H. W. Wolff, *Joel* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), pp. 6 ff.

[112] Cf. J. Myers, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah* (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 75, or J. A. Thompson, *Joel* in IB, Vol. VI, pp. 729-730.

[113] *Contra* Wolff, *op*. *cit*., p. 71.

draw on the context for the interpretation of these verses but must find what meaning there is in the verses themselves with their allusions to other Old Testament texts.

"Afterward" (אחרי־כן) is a formula of transition[114] which can either mean "next," or "later on." The word does not necessarily point to the distant future or to the eschaton, but it does point to something that has not yet taken place.

The verb "pour out" ranges this verse alongside Isaiah 32:15 (יערה), Isaiah 44:3 (אצק), and Ezekiel 39:29 (שפכתי), in anticipating a day in the future when God's spirit will be sent, not by measure but in inexhaustible abundance.[115] It might be noted that, as in Isaiah 32:15, 44:3, and Ezekiel 36:27-30, it is joined to a renewal in nature, 2:23-27,[116] although in this case the renewal precedes rather than follows the giving of the spirit.

According to Joel, all Israel is to receive the spirit,[117] sons and daughters, old men and young men, slaves and women.[118] In other words, it is not limited to the "old men," the elders (Num. 11), or even to "men," the elders, judges, leaders, but it included young men, women, daughters.

---

[114] Cf. BDB, op. cit., p. 30.

[115] Cf. S. R. Driver, op. cit., p. 64. J. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 752, suggests that this imagery, pouring out, may be reminiscent of the giving of abundant rain (v. 23)."

[116] Driver, loc. cit., interprets "afterward" to mean "after the bestowal of the material prosperity promised in vv. 23-26."

[117] But limited to Israel in spite of the phrase "all

The reference of this passage is to Moses' wish (Num. 11:29) that all God's people might be prophets, that God would give his spirit to all of them.[119] This may be the reason for the mention of prophesying, in connection with the pouring out of the spirit, because of the fact that "prophesying" was the phenomenon that was present when the spirit

---

flesh." For this phrase is qualified by "your" sons and daughters, "your" old men, etc., cf. J. A. Thompson, _op_. _cit_., p. 752, and many others. This is how this passage was interpreted on Pentecost, for otherwise, there would not have been the great astonishment when it was poured out also on Cornelius, Acts 10:45. For an interpretation of "all flesh" as meaning the "saved" out of Israel as well as out of the heathen, see Miloš Bič, _Das Buch Joel_ (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), pp. 81-82, and for a discussion of the Biblical meaning of "all flesh" see Koch, _op_. _cit_., p. 173.

[118] C. F. Keil, _op_. _cit_., Vol. I, pp. 211-2, says, "the outpouring of the Spirit upon slaves (menservants and maidens) is connected by _ve gamas_ being something very extraordinary, and under existing circumstances not to be expected. Not a single case occurs in the whole of the Old Testament of a slave receiving the gift of prophecy. . .and the communication of this gift was irreconcilable with the position of slaves under the Old Testament. Consequently even the Jewish expositors could not reconcile themselves to this announcement. The LXX. . .have put servants of God in the place of slaves of men; and the Pharisees refused to the ὄχλος even knowledge of the law, (John vii. 49)."

[119] Cf. Koch, _op_. _cit_., p. 168, footnote 1, and Thompson, _loc_. _cit_.

was given to the elders. Dreams and visions are mentioned as media of prophetic revelation in Nu. 12:6, cf. also I Kgs. 22:19 and Amos 7:1-9.

What effects of the coming of the spirit did the prophet Joel have in mind when he said that all in Israel would prophesy, dream dreams, and see visions? Is it the ecstatic state suggested by the reference to Nu. 11?[120] This, however, is not credible in view of the disfavor into which this ecstatic "prophesying" evidently had fallen.[121] It has also been proposed that the effect of the spirit as described by Joel will be "a new relation to God."[122] This interpretation depends on the joining of 2:27 to 3:1 as if they together said what is stated in Ezekiel 39:21, that God will be in the midst of Israel, that he will truly be present to all in Israel when he pours out his spirit on them. But, as was seen above, 2:27 and 3:1 are joined in too loose a fashion to give this interpretation and are actually separated by the transition phrase rather than joined.

---

[120] Thus Kapelrud, _op_. _cit_., pp. 133 ff., who has confused the _niph'al_ of נבא, which was only used of the legitimate prophetic vocation in Israel's early days, with the _hithpa'el_, which was used to designate the ecstatic condition or "raving." It is the _niph'al_ that is used here in 3:1.

[121] Cf. Mowinckel, _op_. _cit_., pp. 199-227.

[122] Cf. Wolff, _op_. _cit_., pp. 78-79, who denies that Joel is anticipating a nation of ecstatics or of prophets proclaiming God's oracles.

It seems best to see in Joel's use of prophesying, dreams, visions, a reference to legitimate revelation media (Nu. 12:6) as though the prophet were saying that all in Israel are now to become prophets in the manner of the great, traditional prophets. All are to hear God's word directly through the spirit without having to receive it through the mediation of specially appointed "prophets."[123] And all will proclaim it, witnessing to the saving acts of the God that they now know through his spirit.[124]

The spirit in Joel is the true prophetic spirit revealing God's word to all in Israel. Whether this nation of prophets is now to witness to the nations[125] cannot be determined from the text.

Haggai. In line with his belief that the old covenant is still in force in 520 B.C., Haggai 2:5 describes the presence of the spirit in the community of returned exiles as confirmation of the covenant made at Sinai:

> 4b work, for I am with you, says the Lord of hosts,
> 5according to the promise that I made (את-הדבר
> אשר-כרתי) you when you came out of Egypt.
> My spirit abides among you (רוחי עמדת
> בתוככם); fear not.

---

[123] Cf. Artur Weiser. Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949), pp. 103-104.

[124] Driver, op. cit., p. 67, says that they "will have insight into Divine truth, and will be moved to express it, in the manner which is at present confined to such as specially bear the name of prophets."

The prophet is speaking in the name of Yahweh, encouraging the returnees to work on the rebuilding of the temple, which enterprise seems to have lagged. Innumerable difficulties must be faced and overcome, including poverty (1:6), a shortage of building materials (1:8), and the opposition of hostile neighbors (Ezra 5). But the work must be taken up in the spirit of the ancient tradition of the Holy War ("take courage. . .fear not") for Yahweh is in their midst (v. 4) empowering them for the task ahead, and he will provide what is necessary to make the second temple even more glorious than the first (vv. 6-9).

The presence of Yahweh will be realized through his spirit, v. 5b. The difficult grammatical construction of 5a, which relates the promise of Yahweh's presence to the Sinaitic covenant, need not be discussed here as it does not affect the meaning of 5b. Moreover, there are other indications that the prophet had the Exodus and Sinai in mind when he spoke this oracle. Yahweh's presence with his people is promised in Exodus 33:14, repeated in Exodus 29:45 (P). As stated above, the ritual of the Holy War ("take courage. . . fear not) was often heard during the Conquest, but also in earlier days (Exodus 14:13). There is at least a hint of the "shaking down" of the Egyptians (Exodus 12:35-36) in v. 6 ("once again. . .I will shake all nations") to provide treasures for the temple in the same way that the precious metals and ornaments were once provided for the tabernacle in the wilderness. It is possible that the promise of the spirit here is a reference to the gift of the spirit on Bezalel and his companions, providing them with the skill necessary for work on the tabernacle, although Keil[126] rejects this meaning as too narrow. But the verb עמדת , "abides," is used of the pillar of cloud and fire (Exodus 13:21, 14:19,24)[127] and would recall to the minds of the listeners the presence of Yahweh with his people during the exodus from Egypt and through the wilderness wanderings. The use of this word, above all, indicates that the spirit here signifies the continuing personal presence of Yahweh in the midst of this discouraged band of returnees who are laboring to reconstruct the temple in Jerusalem.[128] His presence means the encouragement and power necessary for the task.

---

[126] Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 189-190.

[127] Cf. Karl Elliger, Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), p. 88.

[128] Cf. H. G. Mitchell, J. M. P. Smith, J. A. Bewer, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah (New York: Scribners, 1912), p. 61, and Dr. R. Jones, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 46, who says, "The prophet is saying that, as God led his people at the Exodus, so, by his Spirit, he is in their midst now, and his presence is permanent and abiding."

Zechariah. The power of the spirit to finish construction of the temple is also promised in Zechariah 4:6:

> Then he said to me, "this is the word of the Lord to Zerubbabel: Not by power, but by my Spirit (ברוחי) says the Lord of hosts. 7What are you, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain; and he shall bring forth the top stone amid shouts of 'Grace, grace to it.'"

Verses 6-10a, taken by themselves, present no great difficulty. Yahweh, through his spirit, will furnish the power necessary for the completion of the temple[129] whose construction is mentioned in vv. 7, 9, and 10. Because he is named four times in as many verses, Zerubbabel must be the one, it is assumed, on whom the power of the spirit will be concentrated. Perhaps the building of the temple has progressed to a certain stage but has been stymied by a mountain of difficulties, just as in Haggai 2:1-9, at which point the encouragement needed is provided by Zechariah's oracle. The people are to take heart from Yahweh's assurance that his spirit, which far surpasses human talents and power, is at work in their midst. Through the power of his spirit the mountain of obstacles will be leveled into a plain and the temple will be completed, vv. 7,9.

---

[129] Cf. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 192, J. H. Gailey, Micah to Malachi (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 109, Jones, op. cit., p. 77, and Ernst Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche, 1930), p. 502. Elliger, op. cit., p. 118, relates the spirit to the completion of the temple but adds that it also means that God himself, through the power of his spirit and not by conventional weapons, will ward off the threat of the Samaritans who seek to disrupt operations. G. von Rad, op. cit., I, p. 285, sees in this phrase the interpretation that "Zechariah opposed any idea of bringing in human or political means to defend Jerusalem." Finally, W. E. Barnes, Haggai and Zechariah (Cambridge: U. Press, 1917). p. 46, says, "the words are a caution to Zerubbabel not to attempt to restore the kingdom to Judah with the help of the sword."

The fact that the people are never mentioned and that Zerubbabel is mentioned so frequently suggests what is never specifically so stated, that these verses, in addition to providing encouragement for all those engaged in the task of temple building, are also meant as the divine authentication of the Davidide, Zerubbabel. This provides the clue which will join the vision of verses 1-5, 10b-14, to the oracle in 6-10a. The oracle seems to be only secondarily joined to the vision. Actually the vision can stand by itself and gives good meaning apart from verses 6-10a. The only connecting link between the vision and the oracle is the figure of Zerubbabel. It is tempting to interpret the oil, present throughout the vision, as the spirit[130] which flows from the "two anointed," the "sons of oil," to the lampstand, v. 12-14. In this case the "two anointed" are Zerubbabel and Joshua (6:11), while the lampstand can only represent the congregation of Israel which shines as the eyes of the Lord throughout the whole earth, v. 10a.[131] However, oil is never used in the O.T. to represent the spirit. On the other hand, it frequently symbolizes the ritual of anointing, which would suggest that that is also its meaning here. It is a well-known fact that Zechariah has other "messianic" references, namely, 3:8-10, and 6:9-14, which probably originally named Zerubbabel, the son of David, (I Chronicles 3:19), but which under pressure from the Persian authorities became the indirect statements which are found in the present book of Zechariah. This suggests that Zech, 4:1-5, 10b-14, also is just such a reference. As the son of David, Zerubbabel is the anointed one, and the oil of grace (Ps. 45:2,7) flows from him to the nation.

---

[130] as does Keil, _op_. _cit_., p. 269.

But as the anointed son of David, as a messianic candidate, Zerubbabel can also be expected to have received the gift of the spirit. With a direct reference to I Samuel 16:13, by the secondary joining of the vision with the oracle,[132] the prophet can suggest that, just as David, the anointed of the Lord upon whom the spirit came in fullest measure, planned the building of the first temple (I Chronicles 22), so now

---

[131] Cf. Keil, ibid., pp. 266-267.

[132] Probably by the prophet himself, cf. Weiser, The Old Testament, op. cit., p. 271.

Zerubbabel, the anointed son of David, by the power of the spirit of Yahweh, will be enabled to complete the second temple. This explains why Zerubbabel is mentioned so frequently in verses 6-10a. It is because he is the leader that the success of the temple construction is ensured. The spirit represents the power of Yahweh, but it is to be channeled through the chosen leader, Zerubbabel.

In another vision, Zechariah 6:1-8, the prophet watches four chariots come out from between two mountains, setting off in the four directions to patrol the earth. The chariot with the black horses goes toward the north country, and the other three, with red, white, and dappled gray horses, go in other directions. The vision ends with the angel, who acts as Zechariah's guide, crying, "Behold, those who go toward the north country have set my Spirit at rest in the north country." (הניחו את־רוחי בארץ צפון)

Two interpretations of the guide's cryptic statement are possible. The first interprets ruach to mean God's anger, and, in a usage attested in Ezekiel 5:13, 16:42, 24:13, and 21:22, (although never with ruach), gives to הניחו the meaning of "assuage." Yahweh's anger is satisfied by giving full vent to it. Thus v. 8 would mean that Yahweh had brought his judgment on Babylon.[133] There is no sure evidence for or against this interpretation although in the first vision (1:7-17) where the horses also appear, they have no function other than patrolling. The LXX translation, τὸν θυμὸν for ruchi, also favors this interpretation.

---

[133] For this interpretation cf. Keil, op. cit., p. 295, and H. G. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 181.

The second interpretation understands the verse to mean an outpouring of the spirit on the exiles in Babylon, (and also the diaspora scattered in other directions), encouraging them to return to the homeland. The function of the spirit would be similar to that in 4:6, for the purpose of encouraging the return of the exiles is to include them in the temple reconstruction project. In this interpretation, would have the same meaning as it had in Numbers 11 and Isaiah 11:2, "rest upon." Here it does not rest upon Babylon but upon the exiles in Babylon. The power of the spirit is enlisted in the work of reconstruction. Two things speak in favor of this interpretation. The judgment on Babylon has been already proclaimed in the second vision, 1:18-21 (MT 2:1-4). It would be strange if the last vision were to repeat this theme. Also, the possible return of the exiles to help in the work is mentioned in 6:15 which is then understood to be the prophet's interpretation of the final vision, while 6:9 ff., which speaks of just such a return, would also be understood as an explanation of this vision. This latter interpretation of an ambiguous passage seems preferable.[134]

---

[134] For the second interpretation cf. F. Horst, Nahum

Zechariah 7:12[135] in retrospect, attributes the prophetic word of a former day to the spirit of God.

> They made their hearts like adamant lest they should hear the law and the words which the Lord of hosts had sent by his Spirit (אשר שלח יהוה צבאות ברוחו) through the former prophets. Therefore great wrath came from the Lord of hosts.

This is one of the few texts in the Old Testament that states explicitly that the spirit of God is the inspiration for the prophetic word (cf. also Isaiah 48:16, Joel 3:1,2 and Neh. 9:30). It is implicitly stated in Isaiah 59:21, 61:1, I Kgs. 22:24, II Chron. 24:20, and Micah 3:8.

Summary of the Prophets. In speaking of the spirit of God, three great "firsts" were registered by the prophets of this period. For the first time, the spirit is explicitly spoken of as the center of intelligence and volition in the being of God himself (Is. 40:13, and, less explicitly, Ezek. 1:12, 20, 21). For the first time, the spirit works in the hearts of individual believers, cleansing and guiding them

---

bis Malachi (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1954), p. 237; Karl Elliger, *op. cit.*, p. 106; P. R. Ackroyd, *Zechariah* in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), p. 649.

[135] Zechariah 12:10, because of the word, תחנונים which always in the Old Testament designates the supplications of the creature, is considered to be man's spirit, although, of course, finding its source in God. Mal. 2:15 also is considered to be the spirit in man; cf. Lys, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241, for an interesting, if conjectured, interpretation of this passage.

(Ezek. 36:27; Is. 44:3, although this was hinted at in Is. 32:15). For the first time, the influence of the spirit is extended to non-Israelites (Is. 44:3), leading them to acknowledge Yahweh as their God, Israel as their people.

But to cite a series of "firsts" can in no way serve as a sufficient characterization of this period whose profound description of the work of the spirit was due largely to the insights of the prophets. The great advance in the comprehension of the activity of the spirit, as shown in this literature, can best be summarized under three points.

Primarily, there is increasingly evident the spirit-like activity of the spirit. Not once is the action of the spirit described in a way that resembles the movement of the wind as in the old texts of Exodus 15 or II Samuel 22, or later in Hosea 13:15 or Isaiah 30:28. There never arises the question whether ruach should be translated by "wind" or by "spirit."[136] Never is the ruach manifested as violent anger, sweeping away Israel's enemies, Israel itself (one exception: Isaiah 27:8), or repelling the sea. On the contrary, there is a movement through the middle of the spectrum, represented by the breath-like activity of the spirit, which also notably decreases in the prophets of this period although it is not totally absent, toward activity which is best represented by the word "spirit." For the spirit comes to represent increasingly God's will (Is. 63:10), or his holy will (63:11), guiding his people in the right way no matter how contrary they are: it is described as God's intelligent and purposive will which was active at creation (Is. 40:13), or which directed the chariot of his theophany (Ezek. 1:12, 20, 21); it guides the feet of the individual believer so that he can walk in God's commandments (Ezek. 36:27). Furthermore, the life-bestowing function of the spirit is turned increasingly in the direction of the spiritual life, although the concomitant renewal of physical life was noted in many of the same passages (Is. 44:3; Ezek. 36:27; 37:14). The spirit of Yahweh not only grants the charisma to the Servant but provides him with the inner spiritual qualities necessary to his work. Finally, it is preeminently the ruach in its spirit-like activity, and not "breath" or "wind," which can mediate the very presence of Yahweh with his people (Ezek. 39:29; Is. 59:21; Haggai 2:5).

---

[136] Not even in the Ezekiel texts 2:2; 3:12; etc., for the transporting of the prophet is always purposive and preparatory to his receiving a vision or hearing Yahweh's word, a function which cannot be duplicated by the wind.

There is a second characterization of the prophets of this period which marks a development from the earlier periods. It is the increasing emphasis on the work of the spirit in the individual, the ordinary individual. Formerly, it was the designated leader, the elder, judge, monarch, or prophet, that received the working of the spirit. Or it was the nation as a corporate whole that was chastised, cleansed, guided, or transformed. This element is not lacking in the present period, (Is. 42:1; 61:1; 63:10, 11, 14; Hag. 2:5; Zech. 4:6), but the ordinary individual begins to emerge, either non-Israelite proselytes (Is. 44:3) or the usually faceless, but faithful, members of the congregation of Israel (Joel 3:1, 2) where all, even women and slaves are to become prophets and witnesses, cf. Is. 59:21, where the spirit and the word are given to members of the congregation of Israel; Ezekiel 36:27, where each one is guided in his most inward being into Yahweh's paths; Zechariah 6:8, where individual exiles are moved by the spirit to return to Jerusalem.

The third characteristic of the concept of the spirit in the prophets of this period lies in the fact that the gift of the spirit is increasingly described as a permanent endowment, in contrast particularly with the earliest period where, in the case of the charismatic leaders, it was bestowed as a temporary gift for the performance of a specific task, or in the later period where its chastising function could not be a permanent manifestation. Even in cases where a continuing presence could be a possibility, it was seldom made explicit.

But now the spirit "abides" (Hag. 2:5; it "shall not depart," Is. 59:21), it is to be placed in the heart of the believer (Ezek. 36:27), and in the nation (37:14); it was considered in retrospect to have been present with Israel all through her previous history (Is. 63:10, 11, 14); and it will represent Yahweh's continuing presence with his people (Ezek. 39:29).

III. WISDOM LITERATURE

Job.[137] In the first speech of Eliphaz, the opinion is expressed that the righteous live long but the wicked die young (4:8-9):

> As I have seen, those who plow iniquity
> and sow trouble reap the same.
> By the breath of God (מנשמת אלוה)
> they perish,
> and by the blast of his anger (מרוח אפו)
> they are consumed.

That is to say, they are destroyed by God's wrath. The similarity to II Samuel 22:16 is readily apparent.[138] In both passages we have *neshamah*, *ruach*, and *'aph*, although here the *neshamah* stands in a parallelism with *ruach*. The presence of *neshamah* shows that "breath" rather than "wind" is meant here. But it is possible that there is pictured here an action of *ruach* somewhat different from that in II Sam. 22:16 or Exodus 15:8, 10. In those early texts it was the sheer blasting force of the *ruach* on the waters that was described. But here in Job 4:9, it may be the *heat* of the wind, its scorching power, that is suggested more than just its power alone.[139] In this case אפו must be translated as "anger," and יכלו "consumed." *Ruach* in this case would mean "power" rather than breath. Terrien suggests the motif of judgment by cosmic fire.[140] This interpretation aptly continues the agricultural metaphor of v. 8. For those who plow, sow and reap, it is not the force of the wind so much as the heat of the wind that they fear. The scorching east wind can parch and burn their grain.

---

[137] Job is the only book classed as Wisdom Literature that mentions the spirit of God. For the dating, cf. Weiser, *op. cit.*, p. 291, who allows an upper limit of the fifth century and S. Terrien, *op. cit.*, p. 890, who dates it between 580 and 540 B.C.

Ruach in Proverbs 1:23 is considered by some to be the spirit of God, cf. Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 302, but should rather be thought of, analogous to Job 32:18, as the spirit in man, the "man" being Wisdom personified as a woman, cf. P. van Imschoot, "Sagesse et esprit," *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 34.

---

[138] Friedrich Horst, *Hiob* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960), p. 69-70, has observed the reference of this verse to II Sam. 22:16 and Exodus 15:7ff.

[139] Cf. A. B. Davidson, *Job* (Cambridge: U. Press, 1886), p. 30, "fiery breath," and S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (New York: Scribners, 1921), Vol. I, p. 44, "hot blast."

[140] Samuel Terrien, *Job* (Neuchatel: Delachaux and Niestle, 1963), p. 70.

It is possible, however, to interpret *neshamah* and *ruach* here, metaphorically, as a strong wind rather than a hot one. In this case יכלו must be translated "vanish."[141] The figure in this case would be that of being blown away like chaff or straw before a strong wind, a figure which also continues the agricultural motif. *Ruach* in this case would have more the meaning of "breath" and אפו would be translated "nostrils" to heighten the "wind" metaphor.

There is no sure way to decide from the text which interpretation is correct. In either case, it is the power of the *ruach* of Yahweh, his spirit, that is described under the figure of a wind, whether a strong wind or a scorching one.[142]

Job 26:13 has reference to the activity of God's spirit in creation, but expresses it with mythological terminology:

> 12 By his power he stilled the sea;
> by his understanding he smote Rahab.

---

[141] Cf. F. Delitzsch, *The Book of Job* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), Vol. I, p. 90, and Marvin Pope, *Job* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), p. 34.

[142] N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957), pp. 78-79, completely misinterprets the meaning of *ruach* when he says that "breath of his mouth" means "effortlessly," "it is easy for him to destroy them. . ."

13 By his wind the heavens were made fair;
ברוחו שמים שפרה
his hand pierced the fleeing serpent.

There is a definite allusion here both to the natural wind which clears the skies after a storm, as well as to the divine wind which drove away the dragon overshadowing the sun.[143] But that the mythology does not go beyond terminology, and that what is actually spoken of here is the creation of light and an orderly universe[144] through the power of God's spirit (13a) seems sufficiently indicated by the series: "power," "understanding," "_ruach_," "hand," where _ruach_ translated as "wind" is out of place.[145] The writer has intended to convey the thought that something as personally related to the deity as "power," "understanding," "hand," was meant by _ruach_. So _ruach_ can only mean the spirit of God, the creative and life-giving power of God (cf. 14c).[146] The Biblical writer, furthermore, appears to have been anxious to avoid associating the wind and the dragon, the classic enemies of the pagan mythologies. The other three terms, "power," "understanding" and "hand," (that is, God himself) stand in opposition to the sea-Rahab-serpent, all representing the power of darkness and of evil. Although the allusion is present, the ruach is not explicitly placed in opposition to these forces, but rather has the subordinate role of clearing the field of battle. The ruach is the creative and life-giving power of God which brings forth light from darkness.

---

[143] Cf. Gustav Hölscher, _Das Buch Hiob_, _op_. _cit_., p. 65. Tur-Sinai, _op_. _cit_., pp. 383-384, with a different word division, has read verse 13a: "By his wind he put the sea into a net," but the different translation does not change the basic meaning of _ruach_.

[144] Cf. S. Terrien. Job, _op_. _cit_., p. 1094: "a poetic description of _creatio_ _ex_ _nihilo_." "the motifs of pagan dualism are absorbed within the overwhelming monism of the theologian."

[145] The only possible translation of _ruach_, if one is to maintain the mythological allusion, is "breath," and not Spirit as the KJV has. "Breath" can allude both to God's spirit and to the Marduk wind.

Job 32:8 introduces the spirit in a function that is unique in this book: "But it is the spirit (רוח היא באנוש) in a man, the breath of the Almighty (נשמת שדי תבינם) that makes him understand."[147] Elihu asserts that wisdom is a gift of the spirit of God.[148] The three friends have finished their speeches and Elihu, in deference to their years, has waited in silence until they were finished. But then he declares that, as evidenced by what they have said, it is not merely age which teaches wisdom. It is a special gift of the spirit,[149] the "breath" of God, which he implicitly claims to have received. It is this wisdom, inspired by God, which he now is anxious to put into words (v. 18). The joining of wisdom and the spirit, and the similarities to Genesis 41:38, and Isaiah 11:2 should be noted.

---

[146] For the interpretation of ruach here and in 4:9 as the spirit of God, cf. Terrien, (French) op. cit., p. 217, footnote 4.

[147] For an explanation of the syntax of this verse, cf. Driver and Gray, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 234.

[148] Davidson, op. cit., pp. 223-4, Driver and Gray, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 280, and Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 211, do not distinguish and thus confuse the spirit in man, his life breath, and the spirit of God.

---

[149] That a special gift of the spirit of God is meant here, and not the spirit of life in every man, seems indicated by the logic of Elihu's argument. He says that the spirit, not just age, makes one wise. If the spirit of life in man is meant, the human spirit, then the old as well as the young possess it. But Elihu's argument seems to say that the three elders, although aged, have not been granted this spirit, whereas he himself, although much younger, has been specially blessed with the spirit of God which gives wisdom. If the human spirit common to all living creatures is the subject here, there is no meaning in his argument. This would also seem to indicate a difference in meaning between 32:8 and 27:3, where similar phrases are used. But whereas 32:8 speaks of an extraordinary gift of the spirit, 27:3, discussed above in connection with Genesis 6:3 (Chapter IV, Section II), speaks of the spirit as life or breath in every creature, in other words, the human spirit. However, 27:3 has "my breath" in parallel with spirit of God, while 32:8, together with 33:4 and 34:14 has "breath of the Almighty" or "his breath." Perhaps the meaning of the spirit, whether it is to be understood as the human spirit or as the unique spirit of God, has been consciously indicated by the writer by his use of "breath." Those who interpret ruach here as the spirit of God include Terrien, op. cit., IB, p. 1131, who refers to the translations of the Targum and Symmachus for substantiation, and Hölscher, op. cit., p. 78, who believes that the translation of Symmachus should be followed by adding "God" after "the spirit," and von Rad, Theology I, op. cit., p. 101.

Both Job 33:4 and 34:14 speak of the creative spirit of God.[150] In a continuation of the discourse by Elihu, he declares: "The spirit of God has made me and the breath of the Almighty gives me life. (רוח אל עשתני ונשמת שדי תחיני)." In the context of verses 1-7, the meaning of Elihu's statement in v. 4 is not readily apparent, but judged by verses 6,7 it would seem that he is urging the elders not to stand in awe of his great wisdom, for after all, he too is only human, made from clay like all the others.[151]

Job 34:14 gives the same meaning, expressed differently:

> 14 If he should take back his spirit to himself,
> אם ישים* אליו לבו** רוחו
> and gather to himself his breath,
>
> 15 all flesh would perish together,
> and man would return to dust.

In emphasizing God's supremacy over his creation, Elihu again gives expression to the fact that man's life is a continuing gift of the power of God, transmitted through his spirit.

---

[150] Some commentators, however, continue to confuse the unique spirit of God here with the life breath in man, cf. Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 218, and Driver and Gray, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 283. Terrien, however, IB, op. cit., p. 113-4, speaks of ruach here as the divine spirit of creativity.

[151] Cf. Lys, op. cit., p. 313.

*GS and versions have ישיב

**Kittel suggests that "heart" be deleted.

The book of Job, then, has emphasized the life-giving activity of the spirit[152] to the virtual exclusion of the many other functions described particularly in the prophetic literature. It has been seen that even when the spirit of God represents his wrath against sinners (4:9), it could be explained as an adjunct of the creativity of the spirit, for what can be enlivened can also be caused to perish by the withholding of that life, which must be granted anew at each moment, with each breath drawn by every living creature. But this life-giving activity of the spirit was described on a cosmic plane (26:13) as well as in relation to the existence of each individual. (33:4, 34:14) And the use of neshamah, "breath," parallel with the spirit, showed that the spirit was not thought of as a "being" which moves from God to man and dwells in man, but this paralellism rather defined the ruach, metaphorically, as the power of God which grants and sustains life.

However, the passage in 32:8, which joined wisdom and the spirit, calls for further consideration. Two facts have been noted above. One is that out of all the books which comprise the "Wisdom Literature" in the Old Testament, only Job mentions the spirit of God. The second is that out of all the pre-exilic texts which mention the spirit of God, only two in any way relate it to wisdom, namely, Genesis 41:38 and Isaiah 11:2. It should also be noticed that none of the classical wisdom passages speak of the spirit of God, neither Proverbs 8 nor Job 28, nor is it mentioned in the Wisdom Psalms. The conclusion can only be drawn that the influence joining the spirit and wisdom has not come from the Wisdom school, which never seems to have mentioned the spirit.[153] Nor, on the other hand, can it be concluded that the Priestly school (Post-exilic) can be named as the place where there is found the confluence of these two streams, for, although it was noted above that the Priestly source had joined wisdom and the spirit, yet it was also evident that it was nothing intrinsically basic to the Priestly system, but appeared rather to be a foreign element which had been inserted into that system without being fully assimilated. "The priestly-cultic world allowed no room for activity deriving from inspiration."[154] The conclusion can only be, from the scanty evidence at hand, that it is the influence of the prophetic tradition which has added the element of wisdom to the spirit of God.[155] For it is the prophetic element that can be traced in those passages which have joined wisdom and spirit: Gen. 41:38 (E), Is. 11:2, Job 32:8,[156] Is. 40:13, Psalm 139:7, and Daniel.[157] Also, in the case of the spirit on Joshua in the Priestly source, it is possible that there is present the influence of the prophetic school on the Priestly writings (Num. 27:18; Deut. 34:9 as related to Nu. 11:25,28), while the rather peculiar conjunction of Lord and God in the Bezalel narrative of Exodus 31:1-3 (The Lord said . . .I have filled him with the Spirit of God") probably indicated that the Priestly school was working with an old tradition which may have undergone prophetic influence in another day, although this can be scarcely more than a conjecture.

---

[152] Terrien, (French) op. cit., p. 217, footnote 4, distinguishes the transcendant character of the spirit of God when used by Job and his friends (4:19, 26:13) from the meaning of spirit in the Elihu speeches which is related more to creation (33:4, 34:12-15) and even has the nature of prophetic revelation (32:18).

---

[153] Contra Georg Fohrer, Das Buch Hiob (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1963), p. 451, who, in commenting on Job 32:8, states that it was the sage of the wisdom school who, during the decline of prophecy, claimed for himself the honor of supernatural enlightenment and direct inspiration from the spirit of God. The sage, he says, appears in the place of the prophet and claims for his teaching the same recognition as the prophet had for his word.

---

[154] Von Rad, Theology, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 99.

[155] A fact noted by Imschoot, "Sagesse et esprit," op. cit., p. 46, and by James Muilenburg, The Book of Isaiah, op. cit., p. 437.

[156] Prophetic characteristics in Job 32 have been noted by Imschoot, "Sagesse et esprit," op. cit., p. 34, and Terrien, op. cit., p. 1131.

[157] Cf. infra, Chapters VIII and IX, for the exegesis of Psalm 139:7 and the Daniel texts. Norman Porteous, Daniel (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), pp. 14-17, has especially emphasized the elements in Daniel which stand in the old prophetic tradition. The book is prophetic as well as apocalyptic.

IV. SUMMARY OF THIS PERIOD

A. Statistics

Gender. In the large majority of cases, the gender was not indicated. Where the gender was indicated it was feminine except in Isaiah 34:16, for no evident reason, and Ezekiel 1:12, 20, where it was concluded that the masculine was used to distinguish spirit from the wind which appeared in v. 4. No conclusions can be made from a study of the gender.

Article. The article was found only in Ezekiel 1:12, 20, 21, again assumedly, for the same reason as given above, and also for the purpose of identifying the spirit as the spirit, as Yahweh had not yet been introduced into the narrative. In only four passages, in addition to the series of passages where Ezekiel is transported, would the article have been possible. In the vast majority of cases, all passages other than those mentioned above, the article was excluded by the divine name or the possessive pronoun having Yahweh as its antecedent. This would seem to indicate how closely the spirit continues to be associated with Yahweh (or God).

Verbs. A significant feature of the use of verbs in this period is the word used in Isaiah 63:10, "resisted," to describe human reaction against the spirit. In previous periods, man has been represented as a passive recipient of the activity of the spirit, for good or for ill. But the use of this expression marks an emphasis in this period on the freedom of man in relation to the spirit, he being at liberty to receive or reject, to accept or rebel.

Other verbs introduced in previous periods, as for example, "pour" (Is. 32:15), are taken up and used more frequently (Is. 44:3; Ezek. 39:29; Joel 3:1, 2).

It is, however, impossible to make a judgment on the nature of the spirit from the verbs used to describe its activity. They are apparently used figuratively and express an idea such as permanence (Hag. 2:5), or plenitude (Joel 3:1), rather than a literal reality corresponding to their form. In most cases the verbs are unexceptional, and few if any conclusions can be made from their usage.

Total number of passages. Judged by any standard, this relatively short period is by far the most important for the study of the spirit of God. Approximately one-half of the Old Testament passages which speak of the spirit of God originated in this period of a little more than one hundred years. However, far more than frequency of occurrence, the greater variety of the functions attributed to the spirit, together with the broadening and deepening of the realm in which it is seen to be active, makes this period by far the most significant in the Old Testament.

Probably no one reason can be given for the great surge in the activity of the spirit as described by these writers. It has been suggested that "the spirit was one of the concepts through which the omnipresence and immanence of God were maintained in spite of the growing belief in his transcendence."[158] If this were true, both a growing trend towards the personalization of the spirit, together with the gradual withdrawal of Yahweh from intimate association with his people could be expected. That this did not happen, in this period at least, is best illustrated by Isaiah 63:7 ff., where, to be sure, many have wished to discern a pronounced hypostasization of the spirit. But where in the Old Testament could there be found a passage which expresses more clearly the intimate relation between Yahweh himself and his people, where precisely just that "transcendence" is more lacking? To be sure, unusual things are attributed to the spirit in this passage, but they are likewise ascribed to

---

[158] Schoemaker, _op_. _cit_., p. 28.

Yahweh as well. There is nothing "distant" about the God described in this passage. He could not be closer to his people than he is pictured here. So there is no need to posit a mediator to bridge the distance between God and his people.[159]

In part, the greatly increased understanding of the nature and activity of the spirit in this period may have been part of a general "theological" renaissance triggered by the shock and humiliation of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, a renaissance which is evident in books such as Job, Deutero-Isaiah, or Ezekiel. But the most striking advance in the understanding of the spirit is evident in the passages which speak of the part that the spirit will play in the new age. Just as the spirit of God was present, guiding and empowering, at the early stages of the old covenant, so the spirit will be God's decisive agency in the new age with which the new covenant is associated. Thus, during the time of the exile when there was no hope but a future hope, when Israel, led by her prophets, was asked to direct her gaze to the glorious saving activity of God reserved for the future, it is natural to assume that there would be a corresponding increase in the activity of the spirit related to the new covenant and the new age. The fact that the most significant and most profound references to the spirit are placed in the future shows that this must be the main reason for the increased significance of the spirit in the time of the exile (cf. Is. 42:1; 44:3; 61:1; Ezek. 36:27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 3:1, 2).

---

[159] A. B. Davidson, The Theology of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1952), p. 128, says, "The Spirit of God is not an influence exerted by God at a point from which He is Himself distant. God is always present in the Spirit of God," a conclusion which is underlined by this dissertation, cf. below, Chapter X, Section III.

B. The Activity of the Spirit

Old meanings retained. Even though there was a great flowering in understanding of the spirit during and after the exile, this is not to say that continuity with the pre-exilic period was lost. To be sure, there is no further mention of the ecstatic condition which seems to have been associated with the spirit, to its detriment, in the popular mind at least until the time of the exile.[160] In addition, the destructive, wind-like activity of the spirit, quite frequently found in pre-exilic texts and earlier, is recorded only once (Job 4:9). But the spirit as a life-bestowing, life-creating power appears frequently in Job, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and, above all, in Genesis 1:2. The spirit bestowing the charismata on select individuals is described primarily in the Priestly source, but also in the Servant passage, Isaiah 42:1. The "transporting" of Ezekiel by the spirit, although quite different from that recorded in the Elijah narratives, is not unrelated to the narratives in the earlier period. The spirit is still frequently cited as the source of the prophetic word (Is. 48:16; 59:21; 61:1; Joel 3:1, 2; Zech. 7:12). And the spirit giving guidance in regard to God's will is expressed in Isaiah 59:21; 63:10, 11, 14; Ezek. 36:27 (cf. Is. 30:1). The old meanings have been retained and continued, but they have been immeasurably deepened and broadened, while at the same time the spirit has appeared in several new roles.

---

[160] when, presumably, it died out altogether. The only post-exilic use of the word, "prophesying," התנבא in the *hith pa'el*, is for no obvious reason, to be found in Ezekiel 37:10. Otherwise it has disappeared entirely from the vocabulary of the Old Testament after the Elijah narratives (I Kgs. 18:29), except in a few cases in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (13:7) where it is used in a derogatory sense to describe the false prophets, or slanderously, as a third person description of Jeremiah. There is nothing to indicate that Ezekiel's bizarre behavior was in any way related to the ancient "ecstatic condition."

Wisdom-related literature. The activity ascribed to the spirit in the literature which shows marks of having received wisdom influence is remarkably homogeneous. The passages which are relevant here are primarily those in the book of Job, but also Genesis 1:2 and Isaiah 40:13. Only in these passages that have been influenced by the wisdom tradition[161] do we have described the _cosmic_, life-giving, life-preserving activity of the spirit (cf. especially Job 26:13; 33:4; 34:14; in addition to Gen. 1:2 and Is. 40:13). That this aspect of the spirit represents the main emphasis in this body of literature[162] is perhaps due to the fact that the Wisdom tradition is notably more concerned with creation than with the salvation history. This emphasis is not a mere continuation of pre-exilic thought but has rather been enriched and deepened as is attested particularly by Genesis 1:2 and Isaiah 40:13.

Literature of ancient Judaism. Certain groups of texts from this period represent the beginnings of Judaism more than the development of the classic theology inherited from the major pre-exilic prophets and the earlier historical narratives. In their common interest in and emphasis on the cult, the sacerdotal system and the law, their description of the activity of the spirit is cast in a mold which differs radically, both from the wisdom literature mentioned above, and more particularly, from the prophets Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Joel. The literature of this period which falls in this category is the Priestly source, Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah and Ezekiel 40-48. In the Priestly source, the spirit is placed in the service of the cult, in the manufacturing of the temple furniture or the priestly garments. Even the spirit on Joshua does not place him at the head of Israel's armies as in the days of the judges, but authenticates him as the successor of Moses, the lawgiver. In Haggai and Zechariah the power and encouragement of the spirit is enlisted in the work of temple reconstruction. Trito-Isaiah, in the only passage which can fairly be placed in this category (59:21),[163] emphasizes the status quo, with the assurance that the old covenant remains valid through the continuing presence of the spirit. Ezekiel 40-48, has chiefly the distinction of being the only juridical body of literature that mentions the spirit of God (43:5), but in a way completely unrelated to the main theme of those chapters, the reconstituted Jewish theocracy in Jerusalem. In this literature of early Judaism the impression is left that the spirit can be dispensed with altogether, that it is not a constitutive factor in the system. Where the spirit is mentioned, it is used to underwrite projects which have started without the spirit, and can proceed very well without it. There is missing the interiority, the moral vitality, the driving purposiveness, the impending manifestation in power, which characterizes the spirit. This trend towards deterioration will become even more evident in the later and final period of the Old Testament.

---

[161] The obscure passage, Isaiah 34:16, will have to be an exception although it is possible that the enumeration of animals may represent a "_Listenwissenschaft_," one of the characteristics of the Wisdom tradition.

[162] Although not the exclusive emphasis. The remainder of the passages in the Priestly source have obviously been influenced by the wisdom tradition but apparently have echoed more of the emphasis of the Priestly tradition than that of wisdom. But Job 4:9 and 32:8 are directly related to this cosmic aspect of the activity of the spirit.

---

[163] As is commonly recognized, Is. 56-66 contains a variety of material. Neither 61:1 ff. nor 63:7 ff. falls into the category of literature from early Judaism, but, rather, in their early exilic dating and close similarity to Deutero-Isaiah, should be classed with Deutero-Isaiah, Ezek. 1-39, and Joel. On the other hand, in regard to Is. 59:21, its similarity to Deut. 30:14, and to the phraseology of the Priestly source places it definitely together with that type of literature.

The prophetic tradition. These prophets, Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel 1-39, and Joel, which more than any other serve to characterize this period and give it its greatness, represent the last great advance in the description and comprehension of the activity of the spirit of God, the high tide before the inevitable recession in the following period. Because for them the old forms were broken and destroyed, they could only point to the future, to a new saving act of Yahweh in history, to be brought forth by and in the power of the spirit. The spirit will rest on the Servant, bestowing both the message and the character necessary for communicating it.

It commissions the prophet of the new age (61:1), enabling him to proclaim "good tidings," "liberty," "comfort," The fulness of the guidance of the holy spirit throughout the whole course of the nation's history is comprehended and described in 63:10, 11, 14. It is the spirit placed in the cleansed hearts of the faithful in the nation which will call into life those who are dead (Ezek. 37) and will guide them into an ever more intimate and obedient fellowship with their covenant God (Ezek. 36:27), while an outpouring of the spirit will bring about a spiritual renewal in the hearts of some outside the blood boundaries of Israel, leading them too into the same fellowship. The spirit will mediate the constant presence of Yahweh in the midst of his people (Ezek. 39:29), and finally, through its influence, all in Israel will become prophets and evangelists to the world (Joel 3:12). This is the expression of the work of the spirit of God which will not be superseded in the Old Testament period.

C. The Nature of the Spirit

In relation to Yahweh the nature of the spirit remains unchanged from former periods. Almost without exception, described as "my spirit," "his spirit," or the "spirit of Yahweh," it is intimately associated with him, performing the work which he also performs, but in the case of the spirit, "at a distance," expressing his purpose and his will. In Isaiah 40:13 it is equivalent to his "heart," while in Job 4:9 it is as much a part of him as his wrath. With descriptions such as these, it becomes increasingly difficult to think of the spirit as a substance or a being having an existence separate from Yahweh.[164]

But in this period the spirit is beginning to be qualified, described as "holy," which designates the realm of its activity as much as it indicates its nature. It is still, above all, power, but increasingly the intelligent and purposive power of God, the only means by which God works in the hearts of his human creatures.

Finally, the spirit never describes the nature of God as he is in himself but only as he moves in relation to man and the created world.[165]

---

[164] Cf. Davidson, Theology, op. cit., p. 128, who says that the spirit is not a substance communicated to man but an energy.

[165] Eichrodt, Theologie, op. cit., p. 29, says that the emphasis on the working of the spirit made increasingly unnecessary the personal appearance of Yahweh. This guarded against the tendency to localize, or to demand concrete manifestations of, the Deity and thus worked to preserve his transcendance, without calling into doubt his immanence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PSALMS

I. EXEGESIS

Psalm 33:6,[1] a hymn, makes explicit what was seen to be implicit in Genesis 1:2. "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (ברוח פיו). The spirit of Yahweh participates in the creation. In the immediate context, where the "word" or an equivalent is repeated four times (v. 4, 6, 9), ruach appears to be used almost as a synonym of word. It is the spirit of God in its breath-like activity, his power whereby he created the heaven and its hosts.[2] It is the breath which pronounces and bears the word of command. But this is a poetic way of stating that the life-giving spirit was the means by which God created the heavens and the earth.

---

[1] Because the dating of the Psalms is extraordinarily difficult if not impossible, with the exception of Ps. 18, which duplicates II Samuel 22, they will be considered as a separate unit. The relevant passages are: 33:6; 51:13; 104:30; 139:7; 143:10; 147:18. It seems best to place them here after Chapter VII, for the first four have many similarities to II Isaiah, Job, and the Priestly source, while the last two have similarities to Ezra-Nehemiah. Thus, as a unit they serve as a bridge between these two periods.

[2] Cf. Kraus, op. cit., p. 262. C. A. Briggs, op. cit.,

It is an exteriority for God whose fulness by nature excluded all exteriority.[3] There is also a reference here to Genesis 2:7, where God is said to have breathed life into his creation. But the presence of the word established and protects the sovereignty of Yahweh. Spirit and nature cannot be identified, nor can nature be said to share in the divinity of the divine Lord.[4]

Psalm 51:13 is similar to Ezekiel 39:29 in that the spirit given to dwell in the cleansed and renewed heart of the penitent mediates the presence of Yahweh:

> 12 Create in me a clean heart, O God,
> and put a new and right spirit within me.

---

p. 287, mistakenly limits the spirit of God to psychical functions when he says, "if the reference were to the divine Spirit it would be Spirit of Yahweh, and not Spirit of his mouth." Franz Delitzsch, *The Psalms* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1871), p. 403, says, " רוח פיו (inasmuch as the breath is here regarded as the material of which the word is formed and the bearer of the word) is the command, or in general, the operation of His commanding omnipotence. . ." Koch, *op*. *cit*., p. 21, in his comments on this passage, emphasizes Yahweh's life breath which streams out through the whole creation.

[3] Lys, *op*. *cit*., p. 279.

[4] Eichrodt, Theologie, *op*. *cit*., p. 26. Eichrodt also says that the joining of the word with the spirit prevents spirit possession from degenerating into magic or thaumaturgy because the presence of the word prevents the subjecting of the spirit to man's control or will, (cf. also p. 29).

13 Cast me not away from thy presence.
and take not thy holy Spirit from me.
ורוח קדשך אל-תקח ממני
14 Restore to me the joy of thy salvation,
and uphold me with a willing spirit.

The development of thought in this well-known penitential psalm is clear. The Psalmist calls on Yahweh for mercy, vss. 3-4. He makes his confession of sin in vss. 5-8. Verses 9-11 are a request that Yahweh will forgive the sin which has been confessed. The following section, which is relevant here, contains the psalmists request for inward renewal, vss. 12-14, followed by the vow of personal dedication, vss. 15-19, and finally an appended prayer for Jerusalem.[5]

In regard to the psalm as a whole it can readily be observed that it has a number of allusions to the Davidic history,[6] not only the superscription but also verse 6 which can be compared with II Sam. 12:13; the sending away from Yahweh's presence which together with the request for the continuation of the spirit, v. 13, can be compared with I Sam. 16:13,14; and finally the reference to bloodguilt in v. 16 which recalls I Chronicles 22:8. On the other hand, the Psalm is generally dated to a time much later than the Davidic period[7] which fact precludes Davidic authorship. This means that the psalmist, writing at a time after the Davidic period, has deliberately written his psalm, at certain points at least, in terms of David's sin with Bathsheba and subsequent repentance.

---

[5] This is substantially the outline proposed by H. J. Kraus, op. cit., p. 383.

[6] Cf. Edward Dalglish, Psalm Fifty-one (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p. 209 ff.

In regard to the classification of ruach in these three verses, it seems clear, first of all, that ruach in v. 12 is the spirit in man because it stands in a parallel construction with the heart which is to be created in the psalmist. The spirit of v. 12 is not to be confused with God's spirit in v. 13, which is identified as "thy" spirit.[8] The classification of spirit in v. 14 is more difficult, and depends on the translation of the accompanying adjective. If נדיבה is to be translated noble or princely,[9] it could refer to God's spirit. But most present-day commentators favor the meaning of "willing"[10] which would then make it the psalmist's spirit, the spirit in man and not the spirit of God which could not be spoken of as "willing."

---

[7] with the exception of verses 20-21, considered by many to be an appendix. For a dating near the time of the exile, cf. Dalglish, op. cit., p. 233; Kraus, op. cit., p. 384; Artur Weiser, The Psalms (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 401-402; Edward Kissane, The Book of Psalms (Dublin: The Richview Press, 1953), Vol. I, pp. 224-5.

[8] Weiser, op. cit., p. 407, and Kraus, op. cit., p. 389, do not clearly distinguish between the ruach in v. 12 and the ruach in v. 13.

[9] Cf. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[10] Cf. Daglish, op. cit., p. 162, or Weiser, op. cit., p. 408.

It is necessary, then, to determine the meaning and function of ruach only in verse 13, and not in vss. 12 or 14.

The meaning of ruach is to a large extent decided by the interpretation given to the first member of the parallel construction in v. 13, "cast me not away from thy presence." This may be understood in several ways. It may have reference to the rejection of Israel by Yahweh in being sent into exile, cf. e.g. Jeremiah 7:15.[11] This would depend, however, on the "I" of the psalm being interpreted as representing the nation Israel, an interpretation which is increasingly being rejected by modern scholars.[12] The presence of Yahweh can also be given a cultic interpretation, understanding it to mean the presence of Yahweh at the worship center, the temple, from which the worshipper or the nation asks that he not be excluded.[13] The cultic interpretation, if it refers to the nation in the sense of being sent out from Jerusalem thought of as the place of God's presence, founders on the objection given above against the corporate interpretation.

---

[11] Cf. Dalglish, op. cit.,

[12] Cf. ibid., pp. 225-226.

[13] Cf. ibid., pp. 155-6.

If this only applies to the individual worshipper, the extremely personal relationship with Yahweh expressed throughout the psalm appears to transcend the purely cultic meaning of presence.[14]

Finally, the presence of Yahweh has been understood in terms of divine fellowship and personal communion with Yahweh himself.[15] The principal objection to this interpretation, however, is that a plea for the non-cessation of fellowship with Yahweh uttered at this point in the psalm interrupts in a very decided way the smooth progression in thought evident in the poem. A plea that one not be cast away from Yahweh's presence, given this interpretation, would be entirely in place when the psalmist is calling on Yahweh for mercy, vss. 3-4, when he is confessing his sin, vss. 5-8, or even when he is asking for forgiveness, vss. 9-11. It is just because of this great burden of unforgiven sin that the psalmist is in critical danger of being excluded entirely from the presence of Yahweh, which will mean the severance of divine fellowship and spiritual death.

---

[14] Cf. S. Terrien, The Psalms (New York: Bobs-Merrill, 1952), p. 177, who states, "The experience of the 'indwelling spirit' transcends the idea of the cultic presence;" and Dalglish, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[15] Cf. ibid., p. 157, and many others.

But having confessed his sin and having requested Yahweh's forgiveness, the psalmist in v. 12 moves on to the problem of his own inner transformation as if the problem of his past sin had been rightly and finally dealt with by confession and a plea for forgiveness. To return again to sin which has been confessed and forgiven is futile and the psalmist recognizes this by going ahead to the next problem: the necessity of an inner transformation which will preclude another such lapse into sin. Having moved on to the matter of inner renewal, the psalmist will not return to speak now of a severance of fellowship which can only be caused by a mortal sin. It is necessary to see in 13a a meaning which will carry forward the evident progression in thought developed by the psalmist.

It is proposed, therefore, to understand 13a as referring, not to communion with Yahweh, but to his divine guidance.[16] The prototype for this developing pattern of thought which can be seen in verses 9-13 lies near at hand in Ezekiel 36:25-27, joined to 39:29. Ezekiel 36:25 speaks of the cleansing from past sins. Verse 26, an almost exact parallel to Ps. 51:12, speaks about the gift of a new heart and a new spirit to the individual members of the nation. Verse 27 speaks of the guidance to be provided by Yahweh for the individual believer, who will be aided by the spirit and enabled to walk according to the will of Yahweh. Finally, 39:29 equates the spirit of 36:27 with the presence of Yahweh. If Ps. 51:13a is interpreted in this way, after the pattern of Ezekiel 36:25-27, as the guiding presence of Yahweh which the psalmist requests be not taken away, then the holy spirit is, as in Ezek. 36:27, the means which Yahweh uses in this guidance.

---

[16] Kraus, op. cit., p. 389, and Helmut Lamparter, Das Buch der Psalmen (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1958), Vol. I. p. 264, include guidance in their descriptions of the activity of the spirit in v. 13.

There is here, then, the clear progression from the forgiveness of past sin, to inner renewal and to the guidance from Yahweh's spirit which must accompany the new will to be placed in the believer. Verse 14a, to continue the progression, can refer to the joy which comes from forgiveness and inner transformation. Finally, the psalmist, in 14b, asks to be sustained in this new life by being provided with a willing spirit which will make him a cheerful servant of his Lord.[17]

---

[17] H. J. Stoebe, Gott, sei mir Sünder gnädig (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1958), p. 87, recalls the Israelite militia volunteers of the time of Deborah who willingly entered into Yahweh's service in the holy war, Judges 5:2,9.

The holy spirit in verse 13b is the spirit of Yahweh given to the believer for the purpose of guiding him in his walk in obedience to Yahweh's will. It is Yahweh's guiding presence with the believer.

It is necessary to inquire next concerning the author of this psalm. Dalglish has proposed that the psalm was written to be "spoken by or for the king," the king in this case being Josiah.[18] He bases this conclusion upon, among other things, the evident allusion in verse 13 to the rejection of Saul and the permanent granting of the spirit to David, I Sam. 16:13,14, which Dalglish understands as the continuous gift of the spirit on the Davidic dynasty and joined to the anointing ceremony.[19] Only the Davidic king, it is supposed, could have spoken 13b, for verse 13b assumes that the speaker is in permanent possession of the spirit of God.

Several objections can be advanced against the interpretation which would make a Davidic king the speaker who voiced this psalm. 1. It is not at all certain that the spirit was considered to be the permanent possession of the Davidides. In spite of this assumption on the part of many scholars,[20] it must be observed that never in the Old Testament is the spirit associated with a reigning Davidic king subsequent to David, neither in the historical books, nor in the prophetic books, nor is it even found in the royal psalms where it would be most expected. It has been the frequent assertion of this thesis that the spirit departed from the monarchy from the time of Solomon and moved to the prophetic movement.[21] This is entirely in keeping with the nature of the spirit which is spontaneous, free, and charismatic, characteristics which would make the spirit highly out of place in the monarchical institution which had become bound by hereditary succession.

---

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[20] Cf. B. D. Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1947), p. 275; H. Weinel, " משח und seine Derivate," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*,

Dalglish also assumes more than the texts allow, and he has also overlooked some texts, when he states that the prophets "received the spirit only intermittently," and concludes that only the king, as the sole permanent possessor of the spirit of Yahweh in Israel, could have spoken Ps. 51: 13b.[22]

18(1898), pp. 55-56; C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentlische Wissenschaft, 50(1932), pp. 16-17.

[21] Cf. *supra*, pp. 111, 145, 171, 178.

[22] Cf. *ibid*., p. 159. He has overlooked such texts as Micah 3:8, Is. 48:16, and Is. 61:1, for even in regard to the last named text, the interpretation that the prophet is the speaker has not been excluded.

Further arguments could also be advanced against

2. Although Dalglish asserts the contrary,[23] it is difficult to believe that Ps. 51:18 could have been written for or spoken by the king, particularly in view of the fact that a revival or reformation of the passover festival with its attendant animal sacrifices was a central aspect of his reformation, II Sam. 23:21-23. 3. Interpreting v. 13 in the mouth of the king as a request that the rejection of Saul not be repeated in his own case,[24] "that he--and consequently the nation--may not be cast away from the divine presence" founders upon the objection stated above that progression in the thought of the psalm is disrupted by this returning reference to punishment as the consequence of unforgiven sin.

Thus the psalmist cannot have been the king unless he were speaking only in the capacity of an individual believer, and even this possibility seems to be excluded by the interpretation of v. 13b as permanent possession of the spirit.

---

associating the spirit with the anointing ceremony: 1. Saul did not receive the spirit at the time of his anointing, cf. I Sam. 10:1,10; 2. The spirit could be taken away from Saul but not his status as the anointed one, cf. I Sam. 24:6,10; in other words his anointing and possession of the spirit were not inseparably joined; 3. The prophets still considered the spirit present in Israel even though there was no reigning monarch, cf. Is. 59:21, Hag. 2:5, Zech. 4:6.

[23] Cf. _ibid_., p. 228.

[24] Cf. _loc_. _cit_.,

The psalmist must have been an unknown prophet who stood in the Jeremianic tradition in respect to sacrifices, v. 18, and was influenced by Ezekiel the prophet-priest both in his reference to Ezekiel 36:25-27 in explaining his own experience of forgiveness and renewal, but also in his profuse use of cultic terminology. But whoever this individual may have been, there may be seen in this psalm the astonishing fact that what has only been promised for the future by Ezekiel, 36:25-27, or by Jeremiah, 31:31-34, has been considered as actualized in his own life by this Old Testament psalmist.

Finally, it should be noted that, unlike Isaiah 44:3, and like Ezekiel 36:27, v. 12 does not attribute spiritual renewal or conversion to the spirit but to God himself. The spirit is granted to the believer who has already been cleansed and renewed.[25] So, "holy," it can be said again, defines the realm of the activity of the spirit as much as the nature of the spirit itself. That is to say, because the spirit is holy, "it cannot abide where there is impurity or rebelliousness."[26] Or as Briggs explains it, "The divine Spirit was holy, as it was the presence of the holy God, requiring His people to be holy. Not in the sense of ethical perfection, but in the sense of consecration and a keeping apart from all that was impure or defiling in accordance with the conception of holiness in H and Ez. . ."[27]

---

[25] Cf. Imschoot, "L'esprit de Jahvé, principe de vie morale dans l'AT," Ephemerides Theological Lovanienses, 16 (1939), 465, who says that here the Holy Spirit is given to the just, and not to sinners, transforming them into the just, and in only this respect this prayer fails to attain to the New Testament doctrine of the spirit.

[26] Schoemaker, op. cit., p. 38.

Psalm 104:30 speaks of the spirit as the creative power of God which brings into being and maintains the life of all creatures:

> 29 When thou hidest thy face, they are dismayed:
> when thou takest away their breath (רוחם)
> they die
> and return to their dust.
> 30 When thou sendest forth thy Spirit (תשלח רוחך)
> they are created;
> and thou renewest the face of the ground.

It is the same life-giving spirit spoken of by Job, and has reference especially to the divine in-breathing of Genesis 2:7. On the other hand, the use of יבראון , "created," recalls Genesis 1:1-2, the divine creative act being mediated solely through the sending forth of the spirit.

It should be noted that "their breath" in verse 29 is related to "thy spirit" in verse 30 by the fact of their juxtaposition and the similarity in terminology (ruach). But on the other hand, that they are not identical, and that the psalmist meant to distinguish the two, seems clearly indicated by the modifying pronouns, "their" breath and "thy" spirit.[28] The distinction made above in Chapter IV, Section II, between the life-breath in man and the unique life-giving spirit of God seems to be substantiated particularly by this verse. In carefully distinguishing the creative spirit of God from the life-breath in the nostril of every creature, the Psalmist has precluded that concept of the spirit of God which would make of it an entity or being, or again, a substance or a life-force which emanates[29] throughout the universe and exists in the nostrils of all creatures. Such a concept would make every creature the possessor of a particle of the divine and would contradict the strict separation between God and his creation which the Old Testament so frequently and so vividly describes.

---

[27] Op. cit., p. 8.

On the other hand the "breath" in man is related to the person of God and to his spirit by the very fact that man's breath as a symbol of his life is created by God. In this sense it belongs to God[30] and can be taken away according to his discretion, a fact which is clearly expressed in v. 29.

---

[28] Cf. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 336-7, who distinguishes the spirit of man and the spirit of God in these two verses.

[29] Cf. Eerdman, op. cit., p. 471, "The spirit emanated from God."

[30] And it is in this sense that Genesis 6:3, Numbers 16:22, 27:16, and Job 27:3 use it.

So man's breath is always at the disposition of God's grace and must continually be renewed by a creative act of grace. In describing this creative act, verse 30 hints at the divine inbreathing of Genesis 2:7 through its use of ruach, which can readily be translated as "breath." But it stops short of identifying the divine breath of v. 30 with the human breath mentioned in v. 29,[31] choosing rather to describe the creation in terms of a divine fiat, "they are created." This conclusion places this passage much closer to Genesis 1:1-3 than to Genesis 2:7.

God's creative power is thought of pictorially and anthropomorphically as his breath, suggested by the word ruach. But it is this life-creating power which is also known to men as God's spirit, also suggested by the word ruach. Verses 29-30 express clearly the truth that life-potential exists only in God and that man always must be a recipient in order to live.

Verse 30, judging from the context, verses 10 ff., has reference to the continuing creation and not to the original creation.[32] Verses 17-23 also show that animals as well as men are included.

---

[31] Just as Genesis 2:7 does by its avoidance of the term "ruach". Yahweh breathes into him and he becomes alive.

[32] Cf. A. F. Kirkpatrick, Psalms (Cambridge: University Press, 1916), p. 612.

Psalm 139, which shows many affinities with the book of Job, speaks of the spirit as parallel to the presence, or the "face," of God, v. 7: "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit (מרוחך)? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" But another nuance is added beyond that of Ezekiel 39:29 and Psalm 51:13. The former text spoke of God's continuing presence with his people while the latter text spoke of God's guiding presence with the forgiven and transformed individual believer. But this passage by no means limits it spatially to the sanctuary or the land of the chosen people but stresses the universality of the presence of God mediated through his spirit, in "heaven," "in Sheol," "in the uttermost parts of the sea."[33] But to speak of the universal presence, or omnipresence, is a cold abstraction that the Psalmist would not recognize. It was no philosophical concept that he had in mind but his own experience of the ever-present and ever-sustaining (v. 10)[34] grace of God (cf. the constant "I-thou" pronouns). The spirit is the ever-present guiding and comforting power of God.[35]

---

[33] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 493, says that the poet identifies "the Divine Spirit with the divine presence not only in the theophanic, but also in the invisible activities of God throughout the universe."

[34] Lys, *op. cit.*, p. 281, says that the "face" expresses the personal character of the encounter while "hand" expresses the personal action of God in regard to the believer.

Psalm 143:10 reads: "Teach me to do thy will for thou art my God! Let thy good spirit lead me on a level path!" (רוחך טובה תנחני) The Psalmist expresses that which has already been learned from Ezekiel 36:27, that the spirit of God is a guide and teacher that leads the believer to know and do God's will. The adjective "good" shows that the spirit will not mislead but will only lead into the right paths. Perhaps the omission of the article here with the adjective, its use being normally expected according to the rules of Hebrew grammar,[36] was deliberate in order to avoid the danger of personalization, and confusion with "good" and "bad" spirits in the Persian religion.[37]

Psalm 147:18, in a hymn which appears to have originated in the time of Nehemiah, speaks of the spirit in its, rare to this period, wind-like activity: "He sends forth his word, and melts them (ice); he makes his wind blow, (ישב רוחו) and the waters flow." The translation of "wind" is acceptable if it is understood to be not the natural wind, but the spirit of God in its wind-like activity. In a context of creation (v. 4) and of the providential care of God for his creation (vv. 8-9, 16-18), the wind is never, elsewhere in the O.T., assigned a role such as is given to the _ruach_ in v. 18. Furthermore the parallelism with "word" suggests Psalm 33:6, Genesis 1:2-3, and II Samuel 22:16, in which passage it was determined that with the translation "breath," the reality which was meant was the spirit of God in its wind-like, or breath-like, activity. Furthermore, the passage is similar to Job 37:10 where _neshamah_ was used, which can never be translated "wind." The conclusion must be that by the use of _ruach_, the Psalmist meant to suggest the action of the warm wind which melts ice and causes the waters to flow, together with the action of breath which articulates the word, both included in the life-bestowing activity of the spirit of God which sustains and preserves the life of the natural world. But it is not action in the natural world separate from the human realm, for vv. 1-3, 19-20 directly relate this to history and to Israel. _Ruach_ is used to express the sovereign action of God from a distance, affirming his presence while at the same time asserting his transcendance.[38]

---

[35] But not the divine life-breath which Koch, op. cit., p. 23, sees here.

[36] Cf. G. K. op. cit., p. 408, 126u, an omission pointed out by Briggs, op. cit., p. 518.

[37] Kraus, op. cit., p. 938, notes this Persian background but denies any such reference here.

---

[38] Lys., _op_. _cit_., p. 281.

II. SUMMARY OF THE PSALMS

Statistics. No significant variation from the results of the examination of other periods was obtained from the study of the Psalms. In no place was the article used, although in one case it would have been possible. The gender was only evident in one passage, in which case it was feminine (143:10). The adjective "good" was used for the first time, as well as "holy," which was used previously in Isaiah 63.

Activity of the spirit. Significant new additions to the description of the spirit were contributed by the Psalmists. Psalm 33:6 made clear, in a way that Gen. 1:2 did not, that the ruach which participated in the creation of the world was the spirit and that it had a definite, life-giving function. Psalm 51:11-12 stressed the fact that the spirit which mediates the constant presence of God with the believer guides and enables him to follow God's will, while 139:7 emphasized the universality of the abiding presence represented by the spirit, showing that it was understood as not restricted to the sanctuary or to the land of Israel. In other words, in regard to the continued presence of Yahweh mediated by the spirit, first mentioned in Ezekiel 39:29, the first passage above emphasizes its result while the second emphasizes its universality. Psalm 143:10 qualified the spirit as "good," showing that the guidance of the spirit of God is always beneficent, while 104:30 and 147:18, speaking of the life-sustaining activity of the spirit on the created world, emphasized again that the primary meaning of the spirit is the life power of God that establishes a relation of grace with the creature world, which, in turn, can only be a recipient and which depends on the spirit for its daily existence.

There is missing in the Psalms any mention of the spirit of God in relation to the salvation history. Three of the Psalms relate the spirit to creation while four (including Psalm 18) speak of the spirit in relation to the individual believer. In part, this emphasis is due to the fact that the Psalms are primarily concerned with the individual. Why the spirit is never associated in the Psalms with the salvation history, which finds frequent mention otherwise, is hard to ascertain. Perhaps those historical Psalms had their origin primarily during the pre-exilic period when the spirit was only infrequently mentioned. Nevertheless, in spite of this, the Psalms exhibit an unusual variety of meaningful descriptions of the work of the spirit.

CHAPTER IX

LATE LITERATURE

The final period exhibits a sparsity of passages and a leanness of content.[1] In a period which covers approximately three centuries,,the few texts which are represented show little originality. They largely repeat what has been inherited from the past with little variation but with a significant loss of depth and meaning. It was an age which set about the task of preserving the faith. This seems to have left little room for the free and renewing activity of the spirit of God. Perhaps it was a period of preparation necessary for the great outpouring of the spirit which was to follow much later. At any rate, the activity of the spirit is little seen and less often mentioned during this period.

I. PROPHETIC LITERATURE

Five times in the book of Daniel[2] it is said of Daniel that "the spirit of the holy gods" (רוח אלהין קדישין)

---

[1] The texts from this period: Prophetic Literature, Dan. 4:5,6,15; 5:11,14. Historical Writings, Neh. 9:20,30; I Chron. 12:18; II Chron. 15:1; 18:23; 20:14; 24:20.

[2] Porteous, loc. cit., has emphasized the elements in Daniel which stand in the old prophetic tradition. The book is apocalyptic and prophetic literature.

was in him. The phrase is used in 4:5, 6, 15 by Nebuchadnezzar as he relates his dream and calls for Daniel to give an interpretation of it. Verse 15 says significantly, "This dream I, King Nebuchadnezzar saw. And you, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation, because all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known to me the interpretation, but you are able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in you." It is used again by Belshazzar and his queen in 5:11, 14, again in connection with the interpretation of the mysterious writing on the wall which appeared during Belshazzar's feast. In 5:14, Belshazzar addresses Daniel: "I have heard of you that the spirit of the holy gods is in you, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom are found in you." Because the wise men of Babylon have not been able to read the writing, the king asks Daniel to interpret it.

Mutatis mutandis, the situation is identical with the Joseph narrative in Genesis 41:38.[3] Neither the wise men and magicians of Babylon nor of Egypt are able to interpret the dream (Gen. 41:8; Dan. 4:4; 5:15). An Israelite is called in who can interpret the dream because the spirit of God is in him (Gen. 41:38; Dan. 4:5, 6, 15, 5:11, 14). He is to be promoted to a high governmental position (Gen. 41:41; Dan.

---

[3] Cf. supra, pp. 91-94.

5:16), and receives a non-Jewish name (Gen. 41:45; Dan. 4:5). The similarity extends even into the terminology used. Not only רוח and אלהים in its Aramaic equivalent, but the word פעם , used only five times in the Old Testament, is used in Genesis 41:8 and in Daniel 2:1, 3 (also Judges 13:25; Ps. 77:5) in the introductory section of the dream sequence, meaning "to be troubled." Finally, the wisdom influence is seen in both passages (cf. Gen. 41:39, Daniel 5:11, 14).

The similarities are too numerous to be coincidental, so that both passages can be judged to have been influenced by the same thought world which in this case must have been the Wisdom school. This leads to two basic conclusions. One, the translation of אלהין should be "God" rather than "gods," as it was for Genesis 41:38. This translation is further confirmed by Daniel 2:18 and 2:28, in which Daniel indicates that it is only his own God, which can be none other than the true God, Yahweh, who can make known dreams and their interpretation.[4] Two, the understanding of the function of the spirit here must be the same as that of Genesis 41:38. It is not the spirit of prophecy, but the spirit which grants special talents and abilities, in this case the ability to interpret dreams (wiser than the wise men of Babylon), the gift of rhetoric and eloquence (cf. 1:17) which Daniel amply exhibits, and the qualities which make an ideal ruler or leader (5:16, 29, and especially 6:4). In this last verse רוח יתירא , "excellent spirit," must also be interpreted to mean the spirit of God, on the same account. The spirit of God in Daniel designates the charismatic leader. Affinities with the charismatic spirit of the Priestly source, where a wisdom influence was noted, as well as with Genesis 41:38, are very evident. Also the gift of eloquence is the one thing common to the spirit in Genesis 41:38, Chronicles and Daniel. If it is labeled "charismatic spirit," there are pointed up remarkable similarities between Genesis 41:38, the Priestly source, Chronicles, and Daniel.

---

[4] Cf. J. A. Montgomery, The Book of Daniel (N.Y.: Scribners, 1927), p. 225, and Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 33, footnote 12. Arthur Jeffery, The Book of Daniel, in the IB, Vol. VI, p. 409, says that 4:34 shows that the king is using the divine name with a singular meaning. Ultimately, it seems impossible to establish positively the meaning in the mind of the heathen king, nor is it essential to do so. This dissertation is a study of the spirit of God in the Old Testament, that is, in Israel. The important thing is to understand how Israel understood the phrase רוח אלהין in this Daniel tradition during

II. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Nehemiah 9:20 and 9:30, in the prayer of Ezra (according to the LXX), views the spirit in retrospect. Following a

---

the period of its transmission and as it entered into the book of Daniel. There can be no question but that she considered it to be the spirit of the one true God. As such, this tradition will then reflect Israel's concept of the spirit.

reference to the golden calf and the pillar of cloud and fire, 9:20 reads: "Thou gavest thy good Spirit to instruct them (ורוחך הטובה נתתי להשכילם), and didst not withhold thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst." Expressed in terms popularly used in the Wisdom school (טוב, שכל),[5] the verse, joined as it is to the gift of manna and following the preceding historical sequence, seems to refer to the gift of the spirit on Moses and the elders (Num. 11:17, 25).[6] In this case it was considered, in retrospect, to be a guide, leading and instructing the people through the elders.[7] Although it is not expressly so stated, the instruction was probably in the law (vv. 13-14), which by this time in the scribal circles had been joined to the wisdom teaching[8] (cf. e.g., Ps. 1; 19; 119). If this verse can be said to contain a wisdom element, it would be the only place in the Old Testament where wisdom and the law are joined with the spirit.[9]

---

[5] Maertens, op. cit., p. 50, believes that also represents a wisdom element in the spirit, the spirit as educative, rearing and guiding with prudence.

[6] Thus Kurt Galling, Die Bücher der Chronik (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954), p. 237, and C. F. Keil, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873), p. 243, but doubted by Martin Rehm, Esra-Nehemias (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1950), p. 49 who recalls Ps. 143:10 and thinks the function of the spirit is to impel the people to moral goodness.

[7] It is possible to translate השכילם by "to prosper them," cf. BDB, op. cit., p. 968. If it is to be taken in conjunction with the food, drink, and clothing which immediately follow in the context, this might be the best translation. However, in the historical narratives the giving of the manna or water is never related to the giving of the spirit in any way. For this reason, and following the meaning given in Psalm 143:10, it seems preferable to translate it as "instruct."

In spite of the fact that it is considered in retrospect, the description of the spirit as a "good" spirit, teaching and instructing Israel in the way of the law, reflects a conception of the spirit current in Ezra's time. It stands in definite contrast to the prophetic spirit of another day, described in the following passage.

Nehemiah 9:30, similar in many ways to Zechariah 7:12, ascribes the prophetic warning of a past era to the inspiration of the spirit: "many years thou didst bear with them, and didst warn them by thy Spirit through thy prophets (ברוחך ביד-נביאיך)." There is nothing new here, but it can be noted that even here, as in II Chron. 24:20, the primary activity of the spirit in former times was recognized as being the inspiration of the prophetic word.[10]

---

[8] Cf. J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the Old Testament Prophets," in *Wisdom in Israel and in The Ancient Near East*, edited by M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), p. 196.

[9] But the spirit does not inspire the law, only leads Israel to follow it. McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 110, sees a wisdom element here.

[10] Kurt Galling, *op. cit.*, p. 238, translates Neh. 9:30 thus: "Und vermahntest sie durch deinen Geist durch (das Wort der) Propheten."

I Chronicles 12:16-18 relates that some of the fighting men from Judah and Benjamin came to David at Ziklag in order to join forces with him. David meets them with a short greeting, asking them about their sincerity in joining him. The answer is given by Amasai, the spokesman of the group, v. 18 (MT v. 19):

> Then the Spirit came upon Amasai
> (ורוח לבשה את-עמשי)
> chief of the thirty, and he said,
>
> "We are yours, O David;
> and with you, O son of Jesse!
> Peace, peace to you,
> and peace to your helpers!
> For your God helps you."

The verb used, "clothed," is that used of the spirit on Gideon (Judges 6:34), probably because Amasai also is a warrior. But instead of stirring him up to feats of military valor, it merely moves him to eloquence. It has been suggested that the coming of the spirit on Amasai at this point was meant to indicate divine authentication for David who is about to be crowned (cf. 12:38 ff.).[11] It is possible that the placing of the speech here was meant to serve that purpose but it was the speech and not the spirit that was intended for that end. The fact that the bestowal of the spirit on David (I Sam. 16:13) has not found a place in Chronicles, together with the fact that the spirit is never associated with the monarch in this book, suggests that the writer had in mind other purposes for the spirit than divine designation of monarchs. What function the spirit actually served in Chronicles will become clearer after the examination of the remaining texts. Suffice it to say that here it apparently inspires the poetic gift in Amasai, the warrior.

---

[11] Kurt Galling, op. cit., p. 45.

II Chronicles 15:1 describes a scene in which Asa, king of Judah, upon returning from a successful encounter with Zerah, the king of Egypt, is greeted by a short speech urging him to institute a religious reform:

> [1]The spirit of God came upon Azariah (היתה עליו רוח אלהים) the son of Oded, [2]and he went out to meet Asa, and said to him, "hear me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: The Lord is with you, while you are with him. . . [7]But you, take courage! Do not let your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded." [8]When Asa heard these words, the prophecy of Azariah, the son of Oded (MT the prophecy, Oded the prophet), he took courage, and put away the abominable idols. . .

The speech had its effect and Asa put away the idols, repaired the altar, renewed the covenant, and removed the idolatrous queen mother, Maacah.

As in the preceding passage, the spirit inspires eloquence. Galling has pointed out that the situation in which the speech is laid is artificial, and that the exhortation should be considered, as von Rad has shown, an example of a style of preaching current in Levitical circles in the

Chronicler's own time.[12] If this is true, it means that the description of the work of the spirit given here reflects the attitude towards the spirit of God during the Chronicler's time, rather than in the tenth century. The Levites considered themselves the heirs of the prophets in that they were the ones who were inspired by the spirit.[13] But their prophecy was not an oracle but a speech.[14] It must be concluded, then, that in this passage the spirit is credited with having inspired a prophet and a prophecy of a former day, but in reality it reflects rather the view that the spirit inspired those who preached like the Levitical priests of 400 B.C.

II. Chronicles 18:23 quotes I Kings 22:24 verbatim and lends no assistance in determining the concept of the spirit dominant in the present period.

---

[12] _Ibid_., p. 114. The reference to von Rad made by Galling is in the Festschrift for Procksch, p. 117, also included in _Gesammelte Studien_, _op_. _cit_., p. 248 ff.

[13] Cf. G. von Rad, _Theology_, _op_. _cit_., p. 101.

[14] Cf. Lys, _op_. _cit_., p. 185. Adam C. Welch, _The Work of the Chronicler_ (London: Oxford Press, 1939), pp. 49-50, has noted the stereotyped nature of these prophetic speeches in Chronicles as well as their difference in comparison with the oracles of the classical prophets.

II Chronicles 20:14 describes a scene before an impending battle between Judah, led by King Jehoshaphat, and the invading Moabite and Ammonite armies. After a prayer led by the king in the presence of the assembly of Judah, gathered in the house of the Lord,

> [14]the Spirit of the Lord came (היתה עליו רוח יהוה) upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, son of Benaiah, son of Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph. . . [15]And he said, "Hearken, all Judah. . .Thus says the Lord to you, 'Fear not, and be not dismayed at this great multitude; for the battle is not yours but God's. . .'"

The verb, the same as was used in 15:1, was found in Judges 3:10, 11:29 (and elsewhere in the earliest period). The situation is different from 15:1, for here Jahaziel encourages Judah to fight courageously, it being Yahweh's battle. But the function of the spirit does not vary. It inspires the speech which, this time, is delivered by "a Levite of the sons of Asaph," substantiating what was suggested above. The spirit inspires the eloquence of Jahaziel, one of those Levites who were perhaps the cult prophets[15] of early Judaism.

If the evidence has been read correctly, in the reconstructed Jewish community from which the book of Chronicles derived, some from among the Levites were considered the heirs of the prophets and were considered also to have inherited the gift of the spirit. But the spirit of God inspired in them primarily the gift of eloquence or the poetic gift, their manner of speaking, rather than, as was the case for the classical prophets, the actual content of their message.[16] It may be significant that a king (II Chronicles 32:7-8) can give the same kind of speech with no mention of its inspiration by the spirit of God. It is possible that the spirit as the inspirer of rhetoric was thought to be the exclusive possession[17] of the temple prophets, who represented one rank in the class of Levitic priests, cf. also I Chronicles

---

[15] Cf. W. A. L. Elmslie, Chronicles, in IB, Vol. III, p. 426, and Aubrey R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (Cardiff: U. of Wales Press, 1962), p. 75.

---

[16] Cf. Eichrodt, Theology, op. cit., p. 337, who writes, "whereas in pre-exilic times the temple police looked after the disciplining of recalcitrant ecstatics (Jer. 20:16; 29:26) later generations would not tolerate even the form of preaching in independence of the Law and attempted in various ways to create a substitute. Poetic inspiration and musical gifts are now characterized as the operation of ruach, and in particular the temple prophets' ability to improvise liturgical utterances is prized as demonstrating his prophetic status (Ps. 49:4; I Chron. 15:22, 27; 25:1-3; II Chron. 20:14)."

[17] But perhaps exclusive is too strong a word because the spirit has also been attributed to Amasai, the warrior. It can hardly be argued that the presence of the spirit in I Chronicles 12:18 is a genuine historical recollection, for this verse shows all the characteristics of being the Chronicler's framework, cf. also the same editorial framework in II Chron. 15:1, 20:14, 24:20, and compare with II Chron. 18:23, a genuine historical account, where there is no such framework. Perhaps because of his rhetorical skill, Amasai was considered an anonymous Levite!

25:1-3, where it is stated repeatedly that the Levites "prophesied." At any rate, the king, in spite of his rhetoric, and probably because he is the king, is denied the inspiration of the spirit of God.

II Chronicles 24:20 again uses the same verb as does I Chronicles 12:8 in describing the action of the son of the high priest in rebuking King Joash for his unfaithfulness to the Lord:

> [20]Then the Spirit of God took possession of (ורוח אלהים לבשה) Zechariah the son of Jehoida the priest; and he stood above the people, and said to them, "Thus says God, 'Why do you transgress the commandments of the Lord, so that you cannot prosper? Because you have forsaken the Lord, he has forsaken you.'" [21]But they conspired against him, and by command of the king they stoned him. . .

In contrast to the Levitic speeches described above, this chapter describes what appears to be a true prophetic oracle. It is woe rather than weal, denunciation rather than praise, plain-spoken rather than florid. In a singular way it lacks the rhetorical flourish characteristic of the Levitical speeches; instead it contains the sort of prophetic rebuke heard frequently during the period of the great prophets. In spite of the fact that there is present here also the Chronicler's editorial framework (verse 20a), it must be concluded that there is preserved here a genuine historical incident from the time of Joash describing the rebuke delivered by

Zechariah, the prophet,[18] and inspired by the spirit of God. In this case, the spirit of God appears in a role familiar to another day, inspiring the prophetic word, the contents of the message, rather than the manner of presentation. Together with Nehemiah 9:30, above, it shows that the activity of the spirit in inspiring the prophetic word was recognized by the Chronicler as having existed in an earlier period. But it says little about the function of the spirit in the Chronicler's own day. For this contemporary view of the spirit as it inspired men to eloquence in the Ezra-Nehemiah period, one must refer to the other passages from Chronicles considered above.

III. SUMMARY OF JUDAISM AFTER THE RECONSTRUCTION

A. Summary of the Texts

The fact that in the last three centuries of the Old Testament period there is only a handful of passages which speak of the spirit of God is eloquent testimony to the general character of this period. But even those texts that do exist tend either to view the work of the spirit in retrospect or to repeat old forms. Little that is new or vital will be found in this period.

---

[18] As he is called in Luke 11:50-51.

Chronicles. In this book the "violent" coming of the spirit is described with verbs borrowed from the book of Judges, but only speeches result: a warrior greets David with poetry; a prophet urges King Asa to put away his idols; a Levite incites and encourages Judah to wage a holy war; the only exception in those passages where the formula characteristic of the Chronicler is used for the coming of the spirit is II Chron. 24:20. Here there results a terse, sharp prophetic rebuke unusual for this period and probably hailing from another, earlier era. The common denominator in this variegated assemblage of three classes of men and three types of speeches (excluding the retrospective II. Chron. 18:23 and 24:20, which are interpreted as representing a pre-exilic concept of the spirit) is: the speech is inspired by the spirit. The orator has replaced the prophet as the bearer and heir of the inspired word. The Chronicler has used these ancient narratives, worthy enough in themselves, to illustrate the concept, prevalent in 400 B.C., of the spirit of God as the power which inspired musical, poetic, and rhetorical abilities in a section of the Levitic priests attached to the temple.

Nehemiah only describes the spirit in retrospect, as being a guiding and teaching force in Israel's midst through

Moses and the elders in the wilderness, and inspiring the words of the pre-exilic prophets as they warned and exhorted Israel.

Daniel uses the Daniel narratives, which are placed, chronologically, in the exile, to illustrate the activity of the spirit. But the figure of Daniel as the spirit-filled wise man and charismatic leader is patterned after Joseph and contributes nothing new to the post-Reconstruction picture of the spirit of God.

General evaluation. In the literature of this period there is no recognition of the present activity of the spirit in anything like the profound manner in which it was described in Isaiah or Ezekiel, in Job or Joel. There is no glance into the future, no expectation of an approaching outpouring of God's power through his spirit, no consciousness of the renewing and regenerating activity of the spirit. There was only the glorious past whose preservation in this period would not call for the inspiration of the spirit. The only literature that gives an indication of the contemporary attitude towards the spirit is Chronicles, in which book the Levites have become the successors of the prophets and the heirs of the gifts of the spirit. But their "prophesying" is the poetic gift, the gift of eloquence, a recognition that the true prophet speaks words, but a pale shadow of the actual content of the inspired oracles of the former prophets. The power of the spirit, its free movement, has again been institutionalized in a cultic profession, or better, aestheticized in poetry. Thus it disappears from the literature of the Old Testament, freed to reappear again at a place and time of God's own choosing.

B. Reason for the Paucity of References

Decline of prophecy. In every other period except the earliest, where most of the texts are dated before the advent of the prophetic movement, all the significant texts in the Old Testament were associated with the prophets, either included in the prophetic books or mentioned in relation to the prophetic activity. Job, the Psalms, and the Priestly source are the only exceptions; however, the first two were certainly not without prophetic influence. But the prophetic movement as such has ended, any heritage it left being taken up by the Levitical circles. This explains the sudden silence in regard to the activity of the spirit.

Emphasis on the law. The end of the prophetic movement coincided with, or perhaps was encouraged by, the advent of the community of the law. The teacher of the law replaced the proclaimer of God's word as the leader in the reconstructed community. It has been noted that in no text is the spirit of God associated with the law, either as the source of its inspiration or as its teacher, with the possible exception of Nehemiah 9:20. And only in Ezekiel 43:5 is the spirit of God mentioned in the juridical literature, but there with no relation to the law. Nor is the spirit mentioned in connection with a priest until II Chronicles 20:14, 24:20 (Ezekiel was not a practicing priest in Ezek. 1-39). The law, by nature, precluded the activity of the spirit. Until this period, the spirit of God has been associated closely with the covenants, both old and new. But now that the covenant has been replaced by the law as the constituting factor in the reconstructed Jewish community, the spirit's base of operation has been taken away so that it can only disappear, to reappear again with the advent of the new covenant.

Finally, the fact that wisdom was joined to the law meant that any contact it had previously had with the spirit through the prophetic influence, notably in Job, was cut off. The end result is that the spirit of God no longer is active in the main stream of Judaism, as it is represented in the Old Testament, but is shifted to an ancillary role, found only on the periphery of the religious life of the reconstructed community, contributing little more than ornamentation to its religion. The omens observed in the texts of the Priestly source, III Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah turned out to be a true indication of the course that the spirit would take in full-bodied Judaism. It could only move from the periphery to almost total exclusion.

C. Nature of the Spirit in the Latest Texts

Judging on the basis of the few texts available, there is nothing to indicate a personalization of the spirit. In every case where the gender can be determined, it is feminine, In only one instance was the article possible and it was omitted. In Nehemiah 9:20 it was the "good" spirit, but this indicated the quality of the guidance rather than defining the spirit as a "being." The verbs used in Chronicles seem to be a studied archaism rather than an attempt to define the nature of the spirit. The results accomplished by the coming of the spirit do not live up to the violent nature of the spirit suggested by the verbs. As in every other period, the activity of the spirit is likewise attributed at the same time to Yahweh himself. Thus, there is found no change from other periods in respect to the personalization of the spirit or its relation to Yahweh.

PART THREE

CHAPTER X

A COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF THE NATURE AND ACTIVITY OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD AS IT IS MANIFESTED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

When the Hebrews spoke of the *ruach* of God they were using a concept that was completely unique in the Ancient Near East.[1] The word *rh* is attested in the Ugaritic literature with the meaning of wind. Even though the wind in the Mesopotamian cultures existed and functioned in the divine realm as a special instrument of the gods and in Egypt was even divinized as the god Amon-re, yet no other nation in the Ancient Near East other than Israel spoke of its god or gods as having a ruach or anything comparable to the *ruach* as the Hebrews used it in relation to their God. In a peculiar people with a singular Lord it was a unique concept.

What did the Hebrews mean when they spoke of the *ruach* in relation to God? What did they mean to express about Yahweh and his activity when they applied this term to him?

Because ruach bore the background meaning of wind it was a convenient term for expressing God's activity in relation to his world. The word ruach denoted movement and incorporeality in addition to power and invisibility. In addition, the wind (ruach) existed in a realm that lay beyond the control of man, making it an apt term to use in relation to God.[2]

---

[1] Cf. *supra*, Chapter II.

Even though the Hebrews used ruach with this background of meanings, and even though the term in large part retained the connotations of movement, power, invisibility and incorporeality, yet the Hebrews, in applying the term to Yahweh, began to designate some very definite things about their God by the use of the term ruach. The most obvious aspect of his nature thus expressed by ruach is that he has power which he utilizes in relation to his creation (Is. 31:3). But other meanings, other aspects of God's nature, soon came to be expressed by the same term ruach. God has life and when he bestows this life on his creation the life itself can be called ruach (Is. 32:15). On the other hand, the Hebrews soon experienced Yahweh's wrath, either on their own behalf against an enemy, or against themselves. And as they experienced the wrath of their God they could refer to it as ruach (Is. 30:28). In their history as a people they could perceive Yahweh's guidance, his will for them, and this will of Yahweh, as it was directed toward his people, could be called ruach

---

[2] Cf. supra, p. 43.

(Is. 30:1). And in a related meaning they thought of Yahweh as having a mind (in Hebrew, *leb*), and this also, as it was communicated to his creation, was known as God's *ruach* (Is. 40:13). Finally, at least three of these meanings, power, life, anger, were expressed metaphorically as breath (*ruach*).

It can now be seen that *ruach* is only used to express the nature of God *as he relates himself* to his world, his creation, his people. It was Israel's way of describing God, not as he is in himself, but as he communicates himself to the world, his power, his life, his anger, his will, his very presence.

"Spirit" is the word usually used in translating *ruach*. Because spirit, also, bears the background meaning of wind with the same connotations of movement, power, incorporeality and invisibility, it lay ready at hand as the translation of *ruach*. Furthermore, spirit as used in the phrase spirit of God suggests God as active outside himself and in this sense is also a good translation for the relational meaning of *ruach*.

It is a question, however, whether all these meanings borne by *ruach* as it was applied to God by the Hebrews can be adequately translated by the word spirit. Certainly the meanings of life, power, and Yahweh's presence, as expressed by *ruach*, are translatable by the word spirit. The meaning of *ruach* as it came to designate Yahweh's will can also be conveyed by spirit. Anger, mind and breath, however, are not meanings borne by the English word spirit alone. Spirit can mean disposition, but for a certain kind of disposition a qualifying word must be used. Spirit cannot mean intellectual faculties. Nor can spirit be used with the meaning of breath. For these meanings of _ruach_ it is necessary to use the alternate terms, anger, mind, and breath, bearing in mind, however, that for the Hebrew, any of these meanings could be expressed by the one phrase, _ruach_ _elohim_, designating the one reality which is the subject of this study.

I. THE ACTIVITY OF THE SPIRIT

A. Life-giving

The concept of the divine, life-giving breath breathed into the nostrils of every creature is frequently encountered in pre-Biblical Ancient Near Eastern texts, cf. Chapter II, Section I,B. It might be assumed that this idea would be found ready at hand in the Old Testament due to the terminological concurrence of the _ruach_ (breath) in man with the _ruach_ (breath) of God. But perhaps out of a desire to avoid just such a pagan concept which would give the creature a share in divinity, and in their desire to emphasize the sharp distinction between the Creator and the creature, the pre-exilic Biblical writers have not applied this readily adaptable concept to the ruach of God. Genesis 2:7 does not mention the ruach. Genesis 6:3, it was seen above (Chapter IV, Section IID) not only does not speak of the creative spirit of God but in its basic meaning precludes any idea of the mixing of the heavenly and earthly realms through a mutual possession of ruach. Actually, only one text in the pre-exilic period, Isaiah 32:15, introduces the life-giving function of the spirit, describing the spirit of God as the power renewing nature and breathing a new life of the spirit into the nation. But it is readily apparent that there is only the slightest relation to the pre-Biblical concept described above. The life-giving function of the spirit has been immeasurably broadened while, at the same time, the strict separation between the Creator and the creature has not been bridged by any idea of continuity or identity.

The exilic book of Job was particularly interested in the life-giving spirit which provides breath for every nostril (33:4, 34:14), while the closely related Psalm 104:30 extended it to the whole of the animal world. But although the relation between the ruach in man and the life-giving ruach was clearly shown, yet the terminology used in related contexts (Job 27:3, Psalm 104:29) precluded any idea of identity. This distinction between the human spirit and the life-giving spirit of God is maintained throughout the whole of the Old Testament.

It was Genesis 1:2, where the creative breath of God worked through the word, together with the similar Psalm 33:6 and Job 26:13, which broadened the concept of the creative activity of the spirit to include all of creation. Everything that exists has been brought into being through the life-giving power of the spirit of God. Thus, because it is the source of life, the sustaining of created life was also ascribed to the spirit (Is. 34:16; Ps. 104:30; Ps. 147:18; Job 34:14). Finally, that which was hinted at in Isaiah 32:15, the fact that "spiritual" life in man can only be given and renewed by the spirit, the source of life, was given its finest expression in Ezekiel 37:14, which predicts the renewing of the life of the nation through the spirit of God, and in Isaiah 44:3, which extended the gift of a renewed spiritual life beyond Israel to the Gentiles. There is no life apart from the spirit of God.

B. Power

By the powerful action of Yahweh in rolling back the waters of the Reed Sea, Exodus 15:8, 10, it was made known to Israel, from the time of their birth as a people, that God's power was being used on their behalf. And this awesome but purposive power they referred to as Yahweh's ruach. In a direct allusion to that event the Psalmist in II Samuel 22:16

spoke figuratively of his salvation from danger and possible death at the hands of his enemies as a salvation accomplished by the power of the spirit of Yahweh. The spirit was described under the form of a powerful wind driving back the threatening waters, but it was the powerful action of God on his behalf which the Psalmist had experienced and all of this was expressed for him in the word ruach. It was the same spirit which maintained complete control over the person of Elijah according to the will of Yahweh (I Kgs. 18:12; II Kgs. 2:16). Isaiah saw in the future the powerful action of the spirit in the new exodus (11:15), driving back both the sea of Egypt and the Euphrates river, preparing for the return of the exiles from the east and from the west. Isaiah 31:3, in a classic but oblique definition of the nature of the spirit, showed that in man there is only "flesh," that is, weakness, while the only power in the world is in God, active through his ruach.[3] It was the power of the ruach of God which transported Ezekiel (2:2; etc.) in preparation for his visions.

---

[3] Micah 3:8 is the only place where the word power, or any equivalent word having the connotation of God's power, is used together with ruach. This is surprising in view of the fact that one of the principal meanings of ruach is power. Perhaps כח was associated in the popular mind primarily with human power which fact, if true, might have caused the Biblical writers to avoid placing it parallel with ruach unless it could be contrasted with God's ruach, cf. Zechariah 4:6, Is. 31:3.

Finally, Haggai and Zechariah described the spirit of God as power, standing in their midst and enabling the repatriates to complete the construction of the temple (Hag. 2:5; Zech. 4:6), or encouraging the exiles to return for participation in this work.

C. Gift-Giving

Gift-giving, by far the most frequently attested and most varied in content of the different functions of the spirit, was also introduced to Israel in an unforgettable way soon after the time of her birth as a nation, during the wilderness period (Num. 11:17). It was confirmed by the special signs which accompanied it, the "prophesying." In the beginning, the spirit was granted to certain chosen individuals, equipping them with the capabilities necessary to their duties as leaders of the congregation of Israel. It served further as the divine designation, singling them out as men who were chosen and prepared by Yahweh himself. Thus the elders were chosen (Num. 11:17, 25; 26), the judges were given physical strength and courage as well as wisdom (Judges 3:10; etc.) and the early monarchs were granted the qualities necessary to a king (I Sam. 10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13, 14). Joseph was described as an ideal leader and as a wise man (Gen. 41:38), and to David was granted special gift of poetic ability (II Sam. 23:2). With the introduction of the hereditary monarchy, all of these gifts were combined, projected into the future, and promised to the messianic king (Isaiah 11:2) and to the Servant (42:1). Yahweh, through his spirit, now chose the prophets, for whom the charisma was to be contained in the word granted to them to be spoken. For the leaders of Israel and her rulers, charismatic designation through the spirit virtually disappeared, seen only in retrospect in the Priestly writings as resting on Joshua (Num. 27:18; Deut. 34:9) and those who sewed the garments of the high priest (28:3). For the Chronicler, the charismatic gifts were given to the Levites to enable them to speak eloquently (I Chron. 12:18; II Chron. 15:1; 20:14). Finally, Daniel was viewed after the pattern of Joseph as the wise man, wiser than the foreign magicians, and capable of ruling because he is equipped with the spirit of God. But a new covenant and a new testament is necessary before one can speak of the "greater gifts" of the spirit.

D. Inspiring the Word

In spite of the fact that the spirit is mentioned predominately by the prophets, and is commonly associated above all with the word[3a] which they proclaimed, nevertheless, actual mention of the inspiration of the prophets is relatively rare in the Old Testament. That this, too, is a charisma was attested already in Numbers 11:29, when Moses longed for the day when all of God's people would be prophets, when God would see fit to grant his spirit to all of them. That the gift of the inspired word cannot be arbitrarily possessed or obtained at will was shown by I Kings 22:24, where there was introduced for the first time, not only the word inspired by the spirit, but also the problem of discerning the truly God-inspired word from the word which was not authentically from God. Evidently other spirits than the true and singular spirit of God can inspire words, but they do not express God's will. The prophet Hosea obliquely referred to the title "man of the spirit." Micah, in an aside, affirmed that the authority for his word is the spirit of God, in a passage similar to Isaiah 48:16, while the prophet of the new age (61:1) presented his credentials with his opening words. In Isaiah 59:21, Yahweh himself stated it as the fulfillment of the covenant that his words through the spirit will be constantly proclaimed in every generation. Zechariah 7:12 and Nehemiah 9:30 looked back on Israel's history as the time when Yahweh warned his rebellious people through the former prophets who were the recipients of the word inspired by the spirit. Only Joel, still sighting into the future but assuredly much nearer to the realization of Moses' earlier wish, could visualize the day when the spirit would be given, not only to a few who were specially called to be prophets, but to all God's people. Because of that great outpouring, the faithful could become prophets to those outside the boundaries of Israel who had not yet heard.

[3a] The frequent association of word and spirit in Old Testament literature points up the need for a separate study of the relation between word and spirit.

E. Ecstatic Condition

Closely related, in popular thought at least, to both the giving of the prophetic word and the charisma, that unusual phenomenon called "prophesying" or "raving" was temporarily given as a means of recognition and authentication of the presence of the spirit. Whether it can even be legitimately called a work of the spirit is questionable. But it did accompany the coming of the spirit on the early leaders, the elders, and Saul. That it was meant for a good purpose in the beginning seems evident from the fact that the oldest texts (Num. 11:25, 26, 29) spoke of it with approbation if not commendation. By the time of Saul (I Sam. 10:6, 10), it was viewed with a certain amount of disfavor (cf. also 19:20, 23). In the period following it was only hinted at, in connection with the spirit, in one text (Hos. 9:3), which text showed that its continuation, with its accompanying excesses, was not in the original plan and could only be something to be avoided by the legitimate prophets. It is never again mentioned in relation to the spirit. One old text (Num. 24:2) suggested that the spirit coming on Balaam took possession of him in a manner that resembled an ecstatic condition. The word "prophesying" is not used and there is no way of ascertaining whether or not this is a related phenomenon that was common to the other prophets.

F. Judgment - Anger

When God acts in judgment, chastening and destroying that which resists and opposes him, it is stated that he visits his punishment on the enemy by his _ruach_. Whether this was supposed to suggest a spirit of _anger_, or whether the writers meant to describe the power of his judgment, is a question that does not call for an either-or answer. Both can be and were suggested by the word _ruach_. It is probably this punishing anger that was questioned by Israel, on whom it was to descend with full force, and explained and defended by Micah in 2:7. There is an element of judgment, although the main emphasis is on power, in Exodus 15:8, 10, and II Samuel 22:16. The spirit was turned against Israel in Hosea 13:15 and against Jerusalem in Isaiah 4:4, where it had a cleansing effect, destroying the evil and leaving, as survivors, the purified sinners. The anger and judgment were directed against Assyria in Isaiah 30:28, and against all sinners in Job 4:9. In retrospect, Isaiah 27:8 saw the exile as the expression of God's spirit of anger.

G. Guidance - Teaching

Some of the spirit's activities were manifested early in Israel's history. Others, like the last three to be considered, only appeared in a later period. There is no pre-exilic text that speaks of God's guidance through his spirit. In retrospect, during the great period of reflection on past history provided by the exile, Isaiah 63:10, 11, 14 described in detail how, through the whole course of her history, Israel had been led, even in her disobedience, by the spirit of God. The guidance and counsel were good but Israel responded with rebellion. Others at the time of the exile saw the teaching and guiding activity of the spirit of God both as a present reality and as a future certainty. Now, however, the guidance was granted no longer for the nation, whose community had been dissolved, but for the individual. Job 32:8, with the words of Elihu, affirmed that it is the spirit which causes a man to understand. What it means to understand is not clear, but rational or inellectual knowledge is certainly implied, the only text which asserts this, actually, in the Old Testament. The understanding of right and wrong is also involved (v. 9). Thus, the spirit of God is a teacher who shows her pupils the right path. But a good teacher assists her followers as they walk the right path, and this is the great promise made of the spirit by Ezekiel (36:27): the spirit will cause the cleansed and transformed believers to walk the path of God's will, to obey his commandments. The spirit becomes in the individual believer an inner guide (Ps. 51:13) and volition which assists him at every step to walk in a way pleasing to God. Psalm 143:10 combines the two, but God himself teaches and the good spirit will be the guide. Nehemiah 9:20, again in retrospect, observed that God had taught Israel the commandments through the spirit given to the elders and to Moses in the wilderness. The guidance of the holy spirit was known to the Old Testament congregation and to the individual Israelite.

H. Center of Volition and Intelligence of God Himself

In a function of the spirit of God that narrowly approaches the meaning of "mind" or "heart," Isaiah 40:13 said, in effect, that when God planned the creation he took counsel with his own _ruach_, his spirit. He planned it all himself. In the creation he expressed the purpose that was existent in his own spirit. No one counselled with him nor can anyone comprehend or grasp this spirit, the volitional and intelligent center of the Deity. It was this will (_ruach_), the purpose Yahweh had in mind for Israel that she had disobeyed in another day when she covenanted with Egypt, Is. 30:1. With the same meaning in mind for _ruach_, Ezekiel 1:12, 20, 21 described the course of the movement of God's theophany as being determined, as well as powered, by his own spirit. No outside force or direction moved the theophanic vehicle. God himself decided where it was to go through his own spirit.

I. Presence of God

In the greatest expression of the work of the spirit described in the Old Testament, three texts witness to the spirit mediating the constant abiding presence of Yahweh himself with his children. Ezekiel 39:29 asserts that God will be present with his restored and renewed congregation when he pours out his spirit. But the Psalmist had already experienced this in his life. The individual believer, in Psalm 139:7, knew that this presence accompanies him everywhere. It is not the logical result of abstract speculation but a comforting reality in his own experience. God through his spirit is continually and omnipresently at the side or in the heart of the believer, leading and upholding him. The spirit of God is God himself with the believer.

II. THE MANNER OF ITS APPEARANCE

To characterize accurately the manner of the spirit's appearance in each period of the Old Testament is difficult if not impossible. The variations are so numerous that a complete review of the texts would be necessary for an adequate summary. However, certain trends or movements are evident and it is only these that will be pointed out in this section.

A. Earliest Period

The coming of the spirit was temporary. Moses and Joseph were exceptions, but, since they were extraordinary figures, this was not unexpected. The explicitly stated permanence of the presence of the spirit on David marked the transition to the succeeding period. Secondly, both the appearance of the spirit and the results of its visitation showed the violence of its working. It was in this period that the spirit "clothed," "rushed upon," "troubled," and "blew." Likewise the visible result of the spirit's visitation was evident in prodigious physical strength, in military might, and in "prophesying." Thirdly, the spirit acted externally, that is to say, there is no evidence that there was a change of heart or an inward change in the men who received the spirit. Fourthly, the spirit appeared to overwhelm or to take possession of the individual, characterized especially by Balaam who, against his will, was seized by the spirit of God. Finally, the spirit worked mostly on individuals.

B. Pre - Exilic

The change in this period was seen particularly in the book of the prophet Isaiah. There was some indication that the presence of the spirit in the nation was a permanent affair. The permanence of the spirit on the coming messianic king, of course, was a continuation of the permanent gift of the spirit to David. The presence of the spirit on, in, or against the nation rather than on the individual was increasingly evident. There was also a movement toward interiority, suggested by the renewal of the nation, and of nature affected by the spirit (Is. 32:15). Finally, the significant texts were increasingly projected into the future. In this period the elements of will and wisdom have been added to the spirit, although they were more suggested than delineated (cf. Is. 11:2, 30:1).

C. Exilic and Post-Exilic

That which had been roughly sketched in pre-exilic times received its fullest form in this period. The universality of the working of the spirit, previously limited to the nation of Israel, received its full expression in Job, in Isaiah 44:3, in Genesis 1:2, and in Psalm 104:30. The elements of will and wisdom were clearly seen in Isaiah 40:13, Ezekiel 1:12, 20, 21. The spirit was qualified as holy (Is. 63:10;

Ps. 51:11) or as good (Ps. 143:10), that is, it was credited with moral purpose. The interiority of the activity was emphasized in this period, renewing the hearts and wills, working an inner change in individuals. There was increasingly emphasized the relation of grace, which can be withdrawn on the one hand, and which can be resisted or rejected on the part of man, quite different from the involuntary "possession" of a man by the spirit in the earliest texts. But never in any period was the spirit identified with man, possessed by man, or subject to his power or domination.

III. THE RELATION OF THE SPIRIT TO YAHWEH

There are texts which, read alone, would suggest that the spirit was quite separate from Yahweh, while other texts suggest almost complete identification. It is now possible, however, to consider in a group the Old Testament texts that speak of the spirit and to draw any conclusions that may result from such an examination.

A. Gender

If there were a significant increase in the use of the masculine gender toward the close of the Old Testament period, the conclusion might be possible that the spirit was being considered a separate entity.[4] The actual use of the gender, however, speaks against such a conclusion. In the latest texts the masculine is never found. In the whole period subsequent to 593 B.C., the masculine is used in only two passages (Is. 34:16; Ezek. 1). Actually, the masculine is found most frequently in the late pre-exilic texts, where it would be least expected if it were to be used to indicate any degree of personalization and separation of the spirit from Yahweh.

B. Use of the Article

The article is rarely used in any period and never in the texts of the latest period or the Psalms. Also it should be noted that never in the whole Old Testament is there used the article together with the masculine gender. If the article is used, the gender is feminine, and if the masculine is used, the article is missing.

C. Verbs

Never is a verb used of the spirit of God which unconditionally qualifies it as a person. In the instances in the book of Judges, repeated in I Samuel, and much later in the Chronicles, where the verbs "leaped," and "clothed," are used, the conclusion must be that they are used figuratively to describe the effect of the appearance of the spirit rather than to designate the nature of the spirit itself. In the case of other unusual verbs, "stand," "pour out," "bear," they are verbs that are also used of inanimate objects.

---

[4] Cf. supra, p. 124, footnote 61.

D. Adjectives

The adjectives "holy" and "good" are also frequently applied to inanimate objects and cannot indicate either personalization or separation from Yahweh.[5]

E. Miscellany

The fact that "spirit" is frequently used parallel to "hand," "face," or "breath," serves to bind the ruach as close to Yahweh as the members of his own body, viewed anthropomorphically. Job can even speak of the "spirit of God in my nostrils," which means that for this writer, at least, the spirit could not be an entity capable of a separate existence. In the passages which would most suggest a personalization of the spirit (Is. 63:10; Ps. 51:13; 139:8) we have, on the contrary, the activity of the spirit placed parallel with the activity of Yahweh himself as if there were no essential difference. Finally, the frequency with which the divine name, or its equivalent pronoun, qualifies the word "spirit," i.e., "my spirit," "his spirit," or the "spirit of Yahweh," in the vast majority of texts indicates no original independence of the spirit from Yahweh in the earliest texts, and no apparent attempt to speak of the spirit as a separate entity or person even in the latest texts.

---

[5] A conclusion different from that drawn by Eichrodt, Theologie, op. cit., p. 34, who sees in the fact that the spirit is called "holy" an indication of personalization, i.e., that the spirit increasingly participates in God's holiness.

The conclusion must be an ambiguous one. The spirit is never made identical with Yahweh, although there is the closest possible relationship. On the other hand, although the spirit is given a significantly separate role, yet it is never described in such a way as would indicate that it had a separate existence or that it had independent and autonomous action. In the texts of the O. T. which speak of the spirit of God, the action of God is rarely, if ever, distinguished from the action of the spirit. God is always spoken of as present in his spirit. There does not seem to be any real personalization of the spirit within the limits of the Old Testament.

IV. CONCLUSION

This is the spirit of God, power, anger, life, mind, will, presence, that was manifested in Yahweh's powerful saving act at the Reed Sea, that was bestowed upon the elders, the judges and the leaders in Israel's early history, that led her in her days of rebellion, that judged and chastised her in the exile, and that finally pointed her to the new age when the hearts of men will be changed by the spirit, and "justice will dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness abide in the fruitful field, and the effect of righteousness will be peace, and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Baumgärtel, F., Spirit of God. London: A. and C. Black, 1960.

Buber, Martin, The Prophetic Faith. New York: Harper and Row, 1949.

Burton, E. D., Spirit, Soul, and Flesh. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918.

Childs, Brevard S., Myth and Reality in the Old Testament. London: SCM Press, 1960.

Dalglish, E. P., Psalm 51 in the Light of Ancient Near East Patternism. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.

Davidson, A. B., The Theology of the Old Testament. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956.

Driver, G. R., editor, Canaanite Myths and Legends. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956.

Driver, S. R., An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. New York: Meridian Library, 1956.

Eichrodt, D. Walther, Theologie des Alten Testaments. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961, Teil II.

_______, Theology of the Old Testament. London: SCM Press, 1961.

Fohrer, George, Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964.

Gordon, Cyrus H., Ugaritic Literature. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949.

Gunkel, Hermann, Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1888.

Heschel, Abraham, The Prophets. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

Imschoot, P. van, Theologie de l'Ancien Testament. Tournai: Desclee and Co., 1956.

Jacob, E., Theology of the Old Testament. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

Jepsen, Alfred, *Nabi*. München: C. H. Beck, 1934.

Johnson, Aubrey R., *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*. Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1962.

_______, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God*. Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1942.

Kautzsch, E., Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

Koch, Robert, *Geist und Messias*. Wien: Verlag Herder, 1950.

Lambert, W. G., *The Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Leary, L. G., *From the Pyramids to Paul*. New York: Thomas Nelson, 1935.

Lindblom, J., *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962.

Linder, Sven, *Studier till Gamla Testamentets Föreställningar Om Anden*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1926.

Lys, Daniel, *Rûach, Le Souffle dans L'Ancien Testament*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.

McKane, William, *Prophets and Wise Men*. London: SCM Press, 1965.

Maertens, Thierry, *Le Souffle et L'Esprit de Dieu*. Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1959.

Naville, E., and Renouf, P., translators, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*. London: The Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1904.

Neher, André, *L'Essence Du Prophétisme*. Paris: Presses Universitaires France, 1955.

Noth, M. and Thomas, D. Winton, editors, *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, presented to H. H. Rowley. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.

Pedersen, J., *Israel: Its Life and Culture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Pritchard, James B., editor, Ancient Near Eastern Texts. Princeton: U. Press, 1955.

Rad, G. von, Gesammelte Studien. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1958.

_______, Old Testament Theology. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962, Vol. I, New York: Harper and Row, 1965, Vol. II.

Ridderbos, Nic. H., "Genesis 1:1 und 2" in Oudtestamentlische Studien, edited by P. A. H. De Boer. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.

Robinson, H. Wheeler, "Hebrew Psychology." pp. 353-382. A. S. Peake, editor, The People and the Book. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

_______, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946.

_______, The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit. New York: Harper, 1938.

Scheepers, Johannes, Die Gees Van God En Die Gees Van Die Mens In Die Ou Testament. J. H. Kok N. V. Kampen. 1960.

Schlutz, Karl, Isaias 11,2. Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932.

Schmidt, Werner H., Die Schöpfungsgeschichte Der Priesterschrift. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964.

Scott, R. B. Y., The Relevance of the Prophets. New York: Macmillan, 1944.

Sethe, Kurt, Amun Und Die Acht Urgötter Von Hermopolis. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929.

Snaith, Norman, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament. London: Epworth, 1944.

Volz, Paul, Der Geist Gottes. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910.

Weiser, Artur, The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development. New York: Association Press, 1961.

Welch, A. C., The Work of the Chronicler. London: Oxford U. Press, 1939.

Widengren, George, *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents*. Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1937.

Wood, Irving F., *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature*. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1904.

Wright, G. E., *Biblical Archaeology*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957.

_______, *The Rule of God*. New York: Doubleday, 1960.

B. COMMENTARIES

Ackroyd, P. R., "Zechariah," pp. 646-655. Matthew Black, editor, *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1962.

Alexander, J. A., *Isaiah*. New York: Scribner's, 1851.

Barnes, W. E., *Haggai and Zechariah*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: U. Press, 1917.

Batten, Loring W., *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1913.

Bič, Miloš, *Das Buch Joel*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960.

Briggs, C. A., *The Book of Psalms*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906.

Brown, S. L., *The Book of Hosea*. Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson, editors, *Westminster Commentaries*. London: Methuen and Co., 1932.

Brunner, Robert, *Sacharja*. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1951.

Caird, G. B., *I and II Samuel*. Vol. II, pp. 853-1176. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1953.

Calvin, John, *Commentary on the Four Last Books of Moses*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959.

Cassuto, Umberto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961.

Cheyne, T. K., *Hosea*, A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1913.

_______, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. London: C. Kegan Paul, 1880.

Cooke, G. A., *The Book of Ezekiel*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribners, 1937.

Davidson, A. B., *Ezekiel*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1906.

_______, *Job*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1886.

De Boer, P. A. H., *Second Isaiah's Message*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956.

Delitzsch, F., *The Book of Job*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961.

_______, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960.

_______, *The Psalms*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1871.

Dentan, R. C., *I and II Kings, I and II Chronicles*. Balmer Kelly, editor, *The Layman's Bible Commentary*. London: SCM Press, 1964.

Dillmann, August, *Exodus und Leviticus*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880.

_______, *Jesaja*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1898.

Driver, S. R., *Daniel*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1912.

_______, *Joel and Amos*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1915.

_______, *The Book of Genesis*. New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1904.

_______, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

_______, and Gray, G. B., *The Book of Job*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, *The International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribners, 1921.

Duhm, Bernhard, *Das Buch Jesaia*. W. Nowack, editor, *Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1914.

Eerdmans, B. D., *The Hebrew Book of Psalms*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1947.

Eichrodt, W., *Der Prophet Hesekiel*, 2 Vols. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959, 1966.

Elliger, Karl, *Das Buch Der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten*. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1954.

Elmslie, W. A. L., *Chronicles*. Vol. III, pp. 339-548. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1954.

Fohrer, Georg, *Das Buch Hiob*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1963.

_______, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 3 Vols. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1960, 1962, 1964.

_______, *Ezechiel*. Otto Eissfeldt, editor, *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955.

Frey, Hellmuth, *Das Buch der Gegenwart Gottes unter seiner Gemeinde*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1953.

_______, *Das Buch des Werbens Gottes um Seine Kirche*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1957.

Gailey, J. H., *Micah to Malachi*. Balmer Kelly, editor, *The Layman's Bible Commentary*. London: SCM Press, 1963.

Galling, Kurt, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah*. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951.

Gray, G. B., Numbers. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, The International Critical Commentary. New York: Scribners, 1920.

_______, The Book of Isaiah. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, The International Critical Commentary. New York: Scribners, 1912.

Gray, John, I and II Kings. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963.

Harper, W. R., Amos and Hosea. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, The International Critical Commentary. New York: Scribners, 1912.

Herntrich, Volkmar, Der Prophet Jesaja, Kapitel 1-12. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1950.

Hertzberg, H. W., Die Bücher Joshua, Richter, Ruth. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1953.

Holscher, Gustav, Das Buch Hiob. Otto Eissfeldt, editor, Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1952.

Horst, Friedrich, Hiob. Martin Noth, editor, Biblischer Kommentar. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960.

_______, Nahum bis Maleachi. Otto Eissfeldt, editor, Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954.

Howie, Carl G., The Book of Ezekiel. Balmer Kelly, editor, The Layman's Bible Commentary. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961.

Jeffery, Arthur, The Book of Daniel, Vol. VI, pp. 338-549. George Buttrick, editor, The Interpreter's Bible. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Jones, D. R., Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. John Marsh and Alan Richardson, editors, Torch Bible Commentaries. London: SCM Press, 1962.

Kaltenbach, J., Le Livre Qui Chante La Gloire De Dieu. Strasbourg: Oberlin, 1949.

Kapelrud, A. S., *Joel Studies*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Miksells, 1948.

Keil, C. F., *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873.

_______, *Prophecies of Ezekiel*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949.

_______, *The Books of the Kings*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ____.

_______, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949.

_______, and Delitzsch, Franz, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950.

_______, *The Books of Samuel*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950.

_______, *The Pentateuch*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959.

Kessler, Werner, *Zwischen Gott und Weltmacht*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1950.

Kirkpatrick, A. F., *Psalms*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The* Cambridge Bible. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1916.

Kissane, Edward, *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. I, II. Dublin: Richview Press, 1941, 1943.

_______, *The Book of Psalms*. Dublin: Richview Press, 1953.

König, Eduard, *Das Buch Jesaja*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1926.

Knight, G. A. F., *Deutero-Isaiah*. New York: Abingdon, 1965.

Kraus, Hans-Joachim, *Psalmen*. Martin Noth, editor, *Biblischer Kommentar*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960.

Lamparter, Helmut, *Das Buch Der Psalmen*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1958.

Leslie, Elmer A., *Isaiah*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1963.

Marsh, John, *The Book of Numbers*. Vol. II, pp. 135-308. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1953.

Mauchline, John, *Hosea*. Vol. VI, pp. 551-725. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

_______, *Isaiah 1-39*. John Marsh and Alan Richardson, editors, London: SCM Press, 1962.

Mitchell, H. G., Smith, J. M. P., and Bewer, J. A., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribners, 1912.

Montgomery, J. A., *The Book of Daniel*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribners, 1927.

_______, *The Books of Kings*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1951.

Moore, G. F., *Judges*. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, *The International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribners, 1910.

Morgenstern, Julian, *The Message of Deutero-Isaiah*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1961.

Muilenburg, James, *The Book of Isaiah*, Chs. 40-66. Vol. V, pp. 381-773. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Myers, Jacob M., *Ezra, Nehemiah*. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, editors, *The Anchor Bible*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.

_______, *I and II Chronicles*. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, editors, *The Anchor Bible*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.

_______, *Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah*. Balmer Kelly, editor, *The Layman's Bible Commentary*. London: SCM Press, 1960.

McNeile, A. H., *The Book of Exodus*. Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson, editors, *Westminster Commentaries*. London: Methuen and Co., 1908.

_______, *The Book of Numbers*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1911.

North, C. R., Isaiah 40-55. John Marsh and Alan Richardson, editors, Torch Bible Commentaries. London: SCM Press, 1952.

_______, The Second Isaiah. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Noth, Martin, Exodus. London: SCM Press, 1962.

Perowne, T. T., Haggai and Zechariah. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, The Cambridge Bible. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1908.

Porteous, Norman, Daniel. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965.

Procksch, D. Otto, Die Genesis. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924.

_______, Jesaia I. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930.

Rad, Gerhard von, Genesis. London: SCM Press, 1961.

Rehm, Martin, Esra-Nehemias. Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1950.

Robinson, T. H., Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. Otto Eissfeldt, editor, Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954.

Rudolph, Wilhelm, Ezra und Nehemia. Otto Eissfeldt, editor, Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949.

Scott, R. B. Y., The Book of Isaiah. Vol. V, pp. 151-381. George Buttrick, editor, The Interpreter's Bible. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Sellin, Ernst, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. Leipzig: A Deichertsche, 1930.

Simpson, Cuthbert A., The Book of Genesis. Vol. I, pp. 437-829. George Buttrick, editor, The Interpreter's Bible, New York: Abingdon, 1952.

Skinner, John, Genesis. C. A. Briggs and S. R. Driver, editors, The International Critical Commentary. New York: Scribners, 1917.

_______, *Isaiah*. A. F. Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Cambridge Bible*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1922.

_______, *The Book of Ezekiel*. W. R. Nicoll, editor, *The Expositor's Bible*. New York: Armstrong, 1899.

Smart, James D., *History and Theology in Second Isaiah*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965.

Snaith, Norman, *Amos, Hosea, and Micah*. London: Epworth, 1956.

_______, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Genesis I-VIII*. London: Epworth Press, 1947.

_______, *The First and Second Books of Kings*. Vol. III, pp. 1-338. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1954.

Speiser, E. A., *Genesis*. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, editors, *The Anchor Bible*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1964.

Stoebe, H. J., *Gott, sei mir Sünder gnädig*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1958.

Terrien, Samuel, *Job*. R. Martin-Achard, editor, *Commentaire de L'Ancien Testament*. Neuchatel: Delachaux and Niestlé, 1963.

_______, *The Book of Job*. Vol. III, pp. 877-1198. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1954.

_______, *The Psalms*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952.

Thompson, J. A., *Joel*. Vol. VI, pp. 727-760. George Buttrick, editor, *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Tur-Sinai, N. H., *The Book of Job*. Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957.

Ward, James, *Hosea*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Weiser, Artur, *Das Buch Der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten.* Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949.

_______, Das Buch Hiob. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1951.

_______, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Jona, Micha. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1949.

_______, The Psalms. London: SCM Press, 1962.

Westermann, Claus, Das Buch Jesaja, Kapitel 40-66. Volkmar Herntrich and Artur Weiser, editors, Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966.

Wolfe, Roland, Micah. Vol. VI, pp. 395-949. George Buttrick, editor, The Interpreter's Bible. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Wolff, Hans Walter, Hosea. Martin Noth, editor, Biblischer Kommentar. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlags, 1961.

_______, Joel. Martin Noth, editor, Biblischer Kommentar. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963.

Wright, G. E., The Book of Deuteronomy. Vol. II, pp. 309-537. George Buttrick, editor. The Interpreter's Bible. New York: Abingdon, 1953.

Zimmerli, Walther, Ezechiel. Martin Noth, editor, Biblischer Kommentar. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963.

_______, 1. Mose 1-11. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1957.

C. DICTIONARIES

Bezold, Carl, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1920.

Brown, F., Driver, S. R., Briggs, C. A., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Buhl, Frants, Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1954.

Cremer, Hermann, *Biblische-Theologisches Wörterbuch*. A. G. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1915.

Koehler, L., and Baumgartner, W., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951.

D. ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

Hoyle, R. Birch., "Spirit of God." *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. James Hastings, editor, 13 Vols.; New York: Scribners, 1921. XI, 784-803.

Lampe, G. W. H., "Holy Spirit." *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. G. A. Buttrick, editor, 4 Vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1962. II, 626-639.

Mullins, E. Y., "Holy Spirit." *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*. James Orr, editor, 5 Vols.; Chicago: The Howard Severance Company, 1915. III, 1406-1417.

Swete, H. B., "Holy Spirit." *A Dictionary of the Bible*. James Hastings, editor, 5 Vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. II, 402-410.

E. PERIODICALS

Albright, W. F., "Zabul Yam and Thapit Nahar in the Combat between Baal and the Sea," *Journal of the Palestine* Oriental Society, XVI (1936), 17-20.

Amerding, C., "The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 92(1935), 277-91, 433-41.

Blythin, I., "A Note on Genesis 1,2," *Vetus Testamentum*, 12 (1962), 120-1.

Briggs, C. A., "The use of רוח in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XIX(1900), 132-45.

Caspari, Wilhelm, "Der Geist des Herrn ist über mir," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 13(1902), 321-347, 403-427.

Cripps, P. S., "The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament," *Theology*, 24(April, 1932), 272-280.

Cross, Frank M., and Freedman, David Noel, "The Song of Miriam," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XIV(1955), 237-250.

Dussaud, Rene, "La néphesh et la rouaḥ dans le 'Livre de Job'," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 129(1945), 17-30.

_______, "Les trois premiers versets de la Genèse," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Tome C(1929), pp. 137-9.

Galling, Kurt, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen. 1:2," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 47(1950), 145-157.

Haran, M., "The literary structure and chronological framework of the prophecies in Is. XL-XLVIII," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 9(1962), 127-155.

Hehn, J., "Zum Problem des Geistes im alten Orient und im A.T.," *Zeitschrift für die Altestamentlische Wissenschaft*, 43(1925), 218-225.

Hummel, Horace, "Enclitic *mem* in Early Northwest Semitic, Especially Hebrew," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 76(1957), 85-107.

Imschoot, P. van, "L'action de l'Esprit de Jahvé dans l'A.T.," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 23(1934), 553-87.

_______, "L'Esprit de Jahvé et l'alliance nouvelle dans l'A.T.," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 13(1936), 201-220.

_______, "L'esprit de Jahvé, principe de vie morale dans l'A. T.," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 16(1939), 457-67.

_______, "L'esprit de Jahvé, source de la piéte dans l'ancien Testament," *Bible et Vie Chretienne*, 6(1954), 17-30.

_______, "L'Esprit de Jahvé, source de vie dans l'A.T.," *Revue Biblique*, 44(1935), 481-501.

_______, "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'A.T.," *Revue Biblique*, 47(1938), 23-49.

Joüon, Paul, "Quelques remarques sur Gen. 1:2," *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 16(1926), 304-307.

Kilian, R., "Gen. 1:2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *Vetus Testamentum*, XVI91966), 420-438.

Köberle, Justin, "Gottesgeist und Menschengeist im AT," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 13(1902), 321-347, 403-427.

May, H. G., "The Creation of Light in Genesis 1:3-5," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 43(1939), 203ff.

Moscati, Sabatino, "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 56(1947), 305-310.

Mowinckel, Sigmund, "The 'Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Pre-exilic Reforming Prophets," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 53(1934), 199-227; 56(1937), 261-265.

Muilenburg, James, "The Literary Character of Isaiah 34," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 59(1940), 339-365.

McClellan, William, "The Meaning of rûach 'Elohim in Gen. 1:2," *Biblica*, 15(1934), 517-527.

North, C. R., "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentlische Wissenschaft*, 50(1932), 8-38.

Orlinsky, Harry, "The Plain Meaning of Ruach in Gen. 1:2," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 48(1957/8), 174-182.

Peters, J. P., "The Wind of God," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 30(1911), 44-54; 33(1914), 81-86.

Procksch, Otto, "Die letzen Worte Davids," *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten Testament*, 13(1913), 112-125.

Schoemaker, W. R., "The Use of רוח in the Old Testament and πνεῦμα in the New Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 23(1904), 13-67.

Smith, J. M. P., "The Syntax and Meaning of Genesis 1:1-3," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 44(1927-8), 111-114; 45(1928-29), 212-213.

Smoronski, K., "Et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas," *Biblica*, VI(1925), 140-156, 275-293, 361-395.

Thomas D. Winton, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *Vetus Testamentum*, 3(1953), 209-224.

Waterman, L., "Cosmogonic Affinities in Genesis 1:2," *American Journal of Semitic Literature*, 43(1927), 175 ff.

Weinel, H., " משח und seine Derivate," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentlische Wissenschaft*, 18(1898), 1-82.

Young, Edward J., "The Interpretation of Genesis 1:2," *Westminster Theological Journal*, 23(1960-1961), 151-178.

F. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Lovitt, Harriet B., "A Critical and Exegetical Study of Psalm 139." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1964.

Terrien, Samuel, "Old Testament Theology." Unpublished classroom lectures at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1955.

Westphal, Mylio, "La Ruach Dans L'Ancien Testament." Unpublished Bachelor of Theology dissertation, The University of Geneva, Geneva, 1958.

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL TEXTS USING RUACH AS WIND

Genesis	3:8
	8:1
Exodus	10:13
	19
	14:21
Numbers	11:31
II Samuel	22:11
I Kings	18:45
	19:11
II Kings	3:17
Isaiah	7:2
	17:13
	26:18
	27:8
	32:2
	40:7
	41:16
	29
	57:13
	59:19
	64:5
Jeremiah	2:24
	4:11
	12
	5:13
	10:13
	13:24
	14:6
	18:17
	22:22
	49:32
	36
	51:1
	16
	52:23
Ezekiel	1:4
	5:2
	10
	12
	12:14
	13:11
	13
	17:10
Ezekiel	17:21
	19:12
	27:26
	37:9
	42:16
	17
	18
	19
	20
Hosea	4:19
	8:7
	12:2
	13:15
Amos	4:13
Jonah	1:4
	4:8
Micah	2:11
Habakkuk	1:11
Zechariah	2:10
	5:9
	6:5
Psalms	1:4
	11:6
	18:11
	43
	35:5
	48:8
	55:9
	83:14
	103:16
	104:3
	4
	107:25
	135:7
	148:8
Job	1:19
	4:15
	6:26
	8:2
	15:2
	30
	16:3
	21:18

Job	28:25
	30:15
	22
	37:21
	41:8
Proverbs	11:29
	25:14
	23
	27:16
	30:4
Ecclesiastes	1:6
	14
	17
	26
	4:4
	6
	16
	5:15
	6:9
	11:4
	5
Daniel	2:35
	7:2
	8:8
	11:4
I Chronicles	9:24

BIBLICAL TEXTS USING RUACH AS THE HUMAN RUACH

Genesis	6:3
	6:17
	7:15
	7:22
	26:35
	41:8
	45:27
Exodus	6:9
	35:21
Numbers	5:14
	30
	14:24
	16:22
	27:16
Deuteronomy	2:30
Joshua	2:11
	5:1
Judges	8:3
	15:19
I Samuel	1:15
	30:12
I Kings	10:5
	21:5
II Kings	2:9
	2:15
Isaiah	11:4
	19:3
	14
	25:4
	26:9
	28:6
	29:10
	29:24
	33:11
	38:16
	42:5
	54:6
	57:15
	16

Isaiah	61:3
	65:14
	66:2
Jeremiah	10:14
	51:11
	17
Ezekiel	3:14
	11:5
	19
	13:3
	18:31
	20:32
	21:12
	36:26
	37:5
	6
	8
	9
	10
Hosea	4:12
	5:4
Habakkuk	2:19
Haggai	1:14
Zechariah	12:1
	10
Malachi	2:15
	16
Psalms	31:6
	32:2
	34:19
	51:12
	14
	19
	76:13
	77:4
	7
	78:8
	39
	104:29
	106:33
	135:17
	142:4
	143:4
	7
	146:4

Job	6:4
	7:7
	11
	9:18
	10:12
	12:10
	15:13
	17:1
	19:17
	20:3
	21:4
	27:3
	32:18
Proverbs	1:23
	11:13
	14:29
	15:4
	13
	16:2
	18
	19
	32
	17:22
	27
	18:14
	25:28
	29:11
	23
Ecclesiastes	3:19
	21
	7:8
	9
	8:8
	10:4
	12:7
Lamentations	4:20
Daniel	2:1
	3
	5:12
	20
	6:4
	7:15
Ezra	1:1
	1:5
I Chronicles	5:26
	28:12
II Chronicles	9:4
	21:16
	36:22

BIBLICAL TEXTS USING RUACH AS AN EVIL SPIRIT

Judges	9:23
I Samuel	16:14
	15
	16
	18:10
	19:9
I Kings	22:21
	22
	23
II Kings	19:7
Isaiah	37:7
Zechariah	13:2
II Chronicles	18:20
	21
	22

BIBLICAL TEXTS USING RUACH AS THE SPIRIT OF GOD

Genesis	1:2
	41:38
Exodus	15:8
	10
	28:3
	31:3
	35:31
Numbers	11:17
	25
	26
	29
	24:2
	27:18
Deuteronomy	34:9
Judges	3:10
	6:34
	11:29
	13:25
	14:6
	19
	15:14
I Samuel	10:6
	10
	11:6
	16:13
	14
I Samuel	19:20
	23
II Samuel	22:16
	23:2
I Kings	18:12
	22:14
II Kings	2:16
Isaiah	4:4
	11:2
	11:15
	27:8
	30:1
	30:28
	31:3
	32:15
	34:16
	40:13
	42:1
	44:3
	48:16
	59:21
	61:1
	63:10
	11
	14

Ezekiel	1:12
	20
	21
	2:2
	3:12
	14
	24
	8:3
	10:17
	11:1
	5
	24
	36:27
	37:1
	37:14
	39:29
	43:5
Hosea	9:7
	13:15
Joel	3:1
	2
Micah	2:7
	3:8
Haggai	2:5
Zechariah	4:6
	6:8
	7:12

Psalms	18:16
	33:6
	51:13
	104:30
	139:7
	143:10
	147:18
Job	4:9
	26:13
	32:8
	33:4
	34:14
Daniel	4:5
	6
	15
	5:11
	14
Nehemiah	9:20
	30
I Chronicles	12:18
II Chronicles	15:1
	18:23
	20:14
	24:20

The Spirit of God in the Old Testament

Chapter I

Introduction

The subject of this study is the spirit of God in the O.T. The attempt will be made to separate the texts which speak of the wind (*ruach*) from the texts which speak of the human *ruach*, both of these again to be distinguished from the unique *ruach elohim*, the spirit of God.

The aim of this dissertation is to trace the concept of the spirit of God back to its origins in O.T. literature; to see how it touches or separates from related categories such as the wind and the human spirit; and to study its development through the course of O.T. literature. It is an exegetical study arranged according to four chronological periods of O.T. literature.

No major study in English on this subject has been made. Until recently the major work was *Der Geist Gottes* written by Paul Volz in 1910, who worked largely in categories of the 19th century Wellhausen school. More recent studies include *Geist Und Messias* by Robert Koch, and *Le Souffle et L'Esprit de Dieu* by Thierry Maertens, both arranged topically rather than chronologically; *Die Gees van God en Die Gees van Die*

Mens in Die Ou Testament by J. Scheepers in the Afrikaans language; and a superb study of *ruach* in the O.T., *Rûach, Le Souffle Dans L'Ancien Testament* by Daniel Lys.

Chapter II

Ancient Near Eastern Linguistic and Conceptual Antecedents

Linguistic Antecedents. In the whole of the Ancient Near East, the Biblical word *ruach* has its antecedents only at Ugarit where it is attested with the meaning of wind.

Conceptual Antecedents. It is possible to speak of a divine wind in Mesopotamia in the sense that the wind existed and functioned in the divine realm as a special instrument of the gods. In Egypt, however, contemporary with the beginning of the Yahwist religion in Palestine, the wind was a divinity in its own right, the god Amon-re. A second possible conceptual antecedent, the life-giving breath of the god, is common to texts from both Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Chapter III

A Linguistic Study of the Word Family of *Ruach*

What little is known of the parentage of the word *ruach* seems to suggest that it has the basic meaning of air in motion.

The O.T. usage of words related to ruach suggests first, a dynamic rather than a static situation, second, an object not as it is in itself but rather in relation to others, and third, the whole word family has developed its meanings more in the direction of breath than of wind.

Chapter IV

A Survey of Related Meaning of the Word Ruach In The Old Testament

Wind. Two criteria can be used for determining when ruach means wind: first, when ruach refers to the phenomenon characterized by the movement of air and present and evident in the natural world; second, when the effects of the activity of ruach are evident only in the exterior, natural world.

The wind is never considered divine in the O.T. In the earliest period the wind functions only as a natural element although it is often a special agent under the control of Yahweh. Even in the texts which describe Yahweh in combat with the sea, it is never the wind which Yahweh uses but rather his own ruach, viewed metaphorically as breath.

From the time of the classical prophets and on through the remainder of O.T. Literature this process of demoting the wind becomes increasingly pronounced. With the exception of

Genesis 8:1, the wind is never again the instrument of God in a salvation context. From this time on it appears in four different roles: a figure of speech representing punishment; a metaphor for emptiness or "windiness;" an indicator of direction; the natural wind objectively observed. In later portions of the O.T. it even loses its position as an instrument of Yahweh's activity.

The wind becomes only the natural wind. It does not communicate the divine will. It is no longer the special agent in the creation act, rather is itself a created element. It does not have a life-giving function, cannot be viewed as the breath of the gods, nor does it communicate the divine presence. These functions have been transferred by Israel to God's spirit.

Man's ruach. A comparison of passages can show that the Biblical writers distinguished man's spirit from the spirit of God. There are two criteria for distinguishing the human ruach: when a text speaks of a ruach which belongs to the creature, it is the human ruach; second, any ruach that is a permanent and integral part of the creature's physical and man's psychical, intellectual, or spiritual life, whose permanent absence would make him less than a normal creature, is the human ruach.

The earliest O.T. meaning of _ruach_ in man is that of vitality or life energy. In time, _ruach_ in man came to have a second meaning, that of breath, a meaning which is largely an exilic phenomenon, appearing in pre-exilic texts only in Gen. 7:22 and Is. 11:4. The third meaning of the _ruach_ in man leads into the realm of the psychical or spiritual for _ruach_ comes to mean disposition, will, or mind, and can even refer to man's spiritual life. This meaning is attested in pre-exilic O.T. texts and quite early in this period, but is especially used with great frequency in exilic and post-exilic texts.

There are a number of texts using _ruach_ whose classification cannot be decided alone by the use of the criteria mentioned above. These texts are Genesis 6:3, Job 27:3, Hosea 4:12 and 5:4, Isaiah 19:14, 28:6, and 29:10, Numbers 5:14, and Zechariah 12:10. For various reasons it can be concluded that these texts all speak of the human spirit, thus need not be considered in the texts that speak of the spirit of God.

In giving a summary meaning of the human _ruach_, it must be noted, first, that the _ruach_ of man is used only in contexts which emphasize the frailty and precarious nature of _ruach_ when it is associated with man. It is in constant need of being renewed, revivified and is never finally "possessed" by man. Secondly, the ruach is not a personal soul or entity which inhabits the creature's body but which can have an existence of its own apart from the body. Positively stated, the human ruach is life, physical, psychical, or spiritual, lived in a face-to-face relationship with God, the source of this life.

This human ruach does not have ontological continuity with the ruach of God. Furthermore, the use of ruach to mean the breath of God was not formed upon the idea of ruach, the breath in man, as an anthropomorphism. Man's ruach is only used with the meaning of breath late in the Biblical period and is thus antedated by the "breath" of God by several centuries. In addition, the "frail" and "precarious" breath of man could not have served as a model for the powerful "breath" of God.

Evil Ruach. The O.T. occasionally mentions an evil ruach which is to be distinguished from the unique spirit of God.

Ruach as Ghost. Job 4:15 may appear to use ruach with the meaning of "ghost" but should probably be interpreted, rather, to mean wind.

Chapter V

The Spirit of God in the Earliest Biblical Texts

This chapter deals with texts from the first four centuries of Israel's history, down to the early part of the ninth century.

__Early Poetry__. Ruach in Ex. 15:8, 10 should be translated as breath rather than wind, both because it is accompanied by "nostrils" in v. 8, but also because the OT never speaks of Yahweh blowing the wind. That the "breath" indicates not the wind but a special manifestation of Yahweh's power, i.e. his spirit, is indicated by the following considerations: 1. Psalm 18:10 from this same early period has made the wind to be Yahweh's vehicle showing that the __ruach__ of v. 15 in the same Psalm is Yahweh's breath, and not the wind. 2. The O.T. never describes the wind as the breath (__ruach__) of God but it does equate the breath of God with the spirit of God, e.g. in Job 33:4. 3. The process of demotion of the wind and separation from Yahweh's salvation acts is evident in the O.T. In accordance with this process the writer in 15:8, 10 probably had in mind Yahweh's power expressed metaphorically as breath when he used __ruach__. Here at the commencement of her history as a nation was revealed Yahweh's power on behalf of Israel which the writer has expressed as __ruach__.

Numbers 24:2, taken together with verses 3,4, describes the action of the spirit of God in bringing upon Balaam an ecstatic condition, sometimes known as ecstatic sight. There is related here the forceful possession by the spirit of an unwilling subject. This is also the only time in a non-eschatological context that the spirit comes on a non-Yahwist.

II Samuel 22:16 describes the action of Yahweh's ruach against the waters in a salvation context. The reading of "breath" is substantiated by the presence of neshamah. But that more than the wind is described here is indicated by "rebuke" in the parallel line, which gives to ruach the nuance of anger. And because wind in v. 11 is the vehicle upon which Yahweh rides, it would not also be used as the instrument Yahweh uses in his action against the waters. It is his spirit that is described here.

David, in II Sam. 23:2, attributes to the spirit both poetic inspiration and also the contents of this poem which has the royal covenant as its theme.

Early Historical Writings. In Gen. 41:38 it is the charismatic spirit of God which bestows on Joseph not only the ability to interpret dreams but also the ability to counsel the Pharoah and the ability to govern.

Num. 11:17, 25,26,29, in a text tradition roughly contemporary with the actual event of the selection of the elders, describes the bestowal of the spirit on the elders enabling them to assist Moses in his task of leading and judging the people. It is the charismatic spirit that is described here as also present with Moses, v. 17. The prophesying which accompanied the gift of the spirit on the elders was a concomitant and extraordinary external phenomenon planned and given by God at this time to show Israel the reality of the spirit and the genuineness of the gift. That the prophesying was meant to be a temporary thing is indicated by v. 25. It is necessary for verification of the spirit that is bestowed upon individuals for the first time in Israel's history.

The coming of the spirit of Yahweh on Othniel, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson is related in Judges 3:10, 6:34, 11:29, 13:25, 14:6, 19, and 15:14. The spirit is the charisma granted for leadership in Israel. It grants the gifts of military prowess, courage, physical strength, and also the ability and wisdom necessary for judging the nation and for putting down idolatry. The unusual verbs used with spirit as the subject, "clothed," and "leaped upon" probably indicate the violence of the spirit possession, and stresses the element of domination in the coming of the spirit on the judges. In these passages, because the spirit is inseparably joined with Yahweh, there can be no thought of an independent being. Also, the spirit works no inward change in the judges but rather uses them as tools or instruments.

In I Sam. 10:6, 10 the charismatic spirit moves from the judges to the monarchy represented by Saul. The use of the same verb found in Judges 14:6 indicates the same violent possession together with the spontaneity of appearance. The "prophesying," which is the same phenomenon seen in the case of the elders in Num. 11, was necessary not only to convince the nation that Saul was to be their leader but also that a new institution was to be instituted, the monarchy. Saul's change of heart came before he received the spirit.

I Sam. 11:6, a second and different explanation of the coming of the charismatic spirit on Saul, is probably necessary not only as authentication of the selection of Saul as king but also to overcome the opposition to the monarchy as an institution, e.g., 10:27.

I Sam. 16:13 for the first time makes the coming of the spirit a result of the anointing making unnecessary the visible authentication such as prophesying. And because the free gift of the spirit is in danger of becoming institutionalized it disappears from the monarchy to reappear in the following period on the prophets.

Summary of Earliest Period. The functions of the divine wind, as it appeared in the world into which Israel was born, have been absorbed, in Old Testament literature of this period, by the spirit of God, his ruach. The wind in the same literature has lost its divine role and becomes naturalized, functioning as an ordinary element in the created world even though it remains under Yahweh's control. The second concept present in ANE texts, that of the divine life-giving breath, present as breath in the nostrils of every creature, finds no place in Biblical texts of this period.

In regard to the origin of the concept of the spirit of God, some have held that it was derived from an anthropomorphism: as man became conscious of breath in himself he attributed the same to God. This theory has been shown to be an impossibility because this concept of ruach, breath in man, appeared late in OT literature, but also because that which is considered weak and frail could not suitably be attributed to the Deity. So the appearance of the concept of the ruach in God must have preceded the concept of the ruach in man.

Exodus 15:3, 10, as the earliest appearance of the spirit of God in the OT, must be taken as the connecting link between the OT concept of the ruach of God and the pre-Biblical concept of the divine wind. The source of the concept of the spirit of God is found in the divine wind, but under the influence of Israel's faith, what was the source has been altered to become that unique concept which the OT describes as the spirit of God.

In summary, the texts even from this earliest period inseparably join the spirit to Yahweh himself, making the action of the spirit Yahweh's action. Power is the characteristic of spirit found in almost all texts. The work of the spirit is directly related to the covenant-based salvation history of Israel through the appearance of Yahweh's ruach at the Reed Sea event, by its coming on Moses and the elders, the judges, the early kings, and the nebiim. It is a temporary gift except in the case of David. It does not come on an ordinary member of the congregation nor are its effects evident in inward transformation.

Chapter VI

From Elijah To The Exile

Historical Writing. I Kings 18:12 together with II Kgs. 2:16, speaks about the absolute control exerted over the person of Elijah by the spirit of God. This control, however, is only an external control for there is nothing in the text that indicates an influence on his inward being.

I Kings 22:24 shows that it was a popular assumption that the prophetic word was inspired by the spirit of God, the first time that this has been seen in OT literature. There is also in this text an attempt to distinguish between those who are inspired by the true spirit of God and those inspired by other spirits than the true one. There may also be a hidden censure of "prophesying," the ecstatic condition seen in v. 10.

The Pre-exilic Prophets. Is. 4:4, with a backward glance to the present corruption in Jerusalem, speaks about the purification of that city and its inhabitants in the messianic age by what can only be the spirit of God, for wind cannot cleanse or wash. The spirit is more than power, suggests also Yahweh's anger and opposition to evil. Here for the first time the spirit accomplishes an inward transformation in men, but it is seen as an event in the future.

Isaiah 11:1-9 describes the charismatic spirit on the future messianic ruler. Wisdom and understanding recall the effects of the spirit in Joseph. Counsel recalls the spirit which rested on Moses and the elders. Might recalls the spirit on the judges and Saul. Knowledge and the fear of the Lord may refer to II Sam. 23:3.

Is. 11:15 describes Yahweh's action against the River when he leads his people home from exile. Because the action is accomplished by Yahweh's hand, it seems preferable to interpret ruach to mean an emotion rather than an instrument. The Lord waves his hand over the River in hot anger.

Is. 30:1 offers three possibilities in the interpretation of ruach. It may refer to prophetic inspiration, it may mean the mind or will of Yahweh, or it may mean power. Because verse 1c is parallel to 1b, the translation of ruach ultimately will be decided by the phrase "from me." Thus the second alternative seems preferable giving ruach here the rare (to the OT) meaning of will or mind. The alliance Israel is contracting with Egypt is not Yahweh's will.

Is. 30:28 introduces for the first time Yahweh's wrath directed against the nations. Assyria, pictured in 8:7-8 under the same figure of a powerful stream, will now be removed by

Yahweh's anger. Ruach cannot mean wind here, both because it stands in the series name, nose, lips, tongue, breath, but also because it is likened to a stream.

Is. 31:1 defines ruach in terms of divine power. Apart from this source of power, all else, even Egyptian armamaments, are only "flesh," that is, weakness. This verse shows that ruach cannot be interpreted as a substance or entity existing apart from God. But on the other hand, the prophet is not able to say, God is spirit.

Is. 32:15 speaks of the pouring out of the spirit which will correct the wrongs spoken about in verses 6-14. The spirit of God is the giver of life, renewing both nature and man. It will be poured out, given in the inexhaustible abundance of God. But it is limited to Israel and is in the future. And it is the community, not the individual, that will enjoy its benefits. But here as in Is. 4:4 there is mention of an inward moral renewal worked by the spirit of God.

Hosea 9:7c is a direct quotation from the mouth of those who are heckling the prophet Hosea showing the close association that existed in the popular mind between the spirit of Yahweh and the prophets.

Hosea 13:15 uses ruach yahweh in apposition to "the east wind" with the meaning of "anger of Yahweh" to state the fact that it is an expression of the righteous anger of Yahweh against Samaria that he is bringing on Assyria like an east wind to destroy her. That the ruach here does not mean wind is supported by the fact that Hosea only uses the wind elsewhere as a figure of futility, making it questionable if he would use the phrase "wind of Yahweh." Furthermore, one must remember the tendency in the OT toward demotion of the wind which makes it less likely that Hosea is speaking of the "wind of Yahweh." Thus ruach can be taken to mean the spirit of Yahweh, referring to his anger (cf. Is. 27:8).

Micah 2:7, has been called an anti-anthropomorphism. The spirit of Yahweh is to be understood here in terms of a psychological attribute, but Micah also seems to deny the possibility of describing the spirit of God in terms of man's spirit or man's conduct. Thus the spirit of God is the source, not the reflection, of man's spirit.

Micah 3:8 represents the only pre-exilic text in which a prophet explicitly attests to the spirit of God as the source of his own prophetic message.

Summary of the Period. In slightly less than half the texts where the gender can be determined, the gender is always masculine. In only two cases is spirit anarthrous. In most cases ruach is determined either by the divine name or the divine possessive personal pronoun, indicating that the spirit stands in close relation to God.

No verbs indicating violent possession are found in this period, possibly indicating a change in the manner of working of the spirit. In this period no longer is the man seized and used like an object but rather the personal freedom of the individual is emphasized.

There is a noticeable absence of the spirit of God from literature of this period. One reason may have been that it was no longer associated with the monarchy, both because it had become dynastic but also because of spiritual hardening. But it may also have been a reaction against the excesses of the ecstatic prophets with whom the spirit was popularly associated. Only Micah in this period publicly attributes his inspiration to the spirit of God.

However, the spirit has been transferred to the prophetic movement. In this period it is associated with neither king nor priest, neither the wise nor the elders. Every mention of the spirit in this period is joined to the prophetic movement, either related to the work of the prophets themselves or spoken by the prophets.

In regard to its function, the spirit is either the power of God controlling Elijah, coming in the prophetic word, purifying the remnant, providing the messianic king with the gifts necessary to rule, renewing nature and man in the new age, evident as God's unique power, and as his will. Or it is Yahweh's anger against the water, the Assyrians or against

Israel itself. Micah points out that Yahweh's anger is not to be thought of in terms of man's anger.

The spirit is described in this period as standing in a very close relation with Yahweh but not identical with Yahweh. But _ruach_ is not mutually shared by God and man. It is only characteristic of God. Finally, most of the texts speak of _ruach_ in the present but a few speak of the _ruach_ in the future.

Chapter VII

The Exile and Early Post-exilic Period

Historical Writings. The _ruach elohim_ in Gen. 1:2 has been translated as wind or spirit. The arguments against translating _ruach_ as wind are: 1. the _waw_ of verse 2c may be a _waw_ adversative permitting the translator to look in 2c for something different from the elements listed in 2ab, earth, darkness, etc. 2. The _ruach_ is the only element in verse 2 that is active and is in this way distinguished from the other elements. 3. The allusions in 1:2 to Mesopotamian cosmogonies would argue against identifying the _ruach_ with the divine wind in those cosmogonies because of the fact that the Priestly school appears to be counteracting rather than imitating them. 4. Because _ruach_ is defined by _elohim_ argues against the translation wind. _Elohim_ cannot be translated to mean powerful.

Nor can it mean "wind of God" for the wind in the O.T. is never allowed to participate in the work of creation, on the contrary has been removed far from such a position by the time of the exile. The phrase "wind of God" is extremely rare in the OT. 5. There is no function provided here for a wind.

In favor of the translation of spirit for ruach stand those creation passages which date from approximately the same period as Gen. 1:2, namely, Is. 40:13, Ps. 33:6, Job 26:13, all of which use spirit (or breath) rather than wind. Furthermore, there is a function provided in Gen. 1:2 for spirit. It joins the God of creation in v. 1 to the same God in v. 3, maintaining his continued creative action over against chaos, and it also finds its direct issuance in the creative word of verse 3 just as is found in Ps. 33:6. Spirit also fits the verbal, "hovering." Just as the mother eagle cares for her young, hovering over their nest, Deut. 32:10-11, so Yahweh through his own spirit saves the unformed cosmos from chaos, darkness, and formlessness. The verbal expresses the loving concern of the creator, the spirit, his directing and guiding power brought to bear upon the unformed creation.

Exodus 28:3, 31:3, 35:31 can be considered together. In these verses the Priestly writer has attributed to the spirit of God the talent possessed by those who make Aaron's robes as well as those who make the tabernacle furnishings.

This is the charismatic spirit which prepares men for special tasks in the covenant community.

Num. 27:18 and Deut. 34:9 are texts from the Priestly source which speak of the presence of the spirit with Joshua. The first text assumes that he possesses the spirit before he is commissioned by Moses, while the latter text reverses the order. It is possible that 27:18 considered Joshua to have been one of the 70 elders who received the spirit as related in Num. 11:28. The charismatic spirit here is the same as that spoken of in Ex. 28:3, etc.

The spirit of God does not appear to be intrinsic to the theological system of the Priestly writer, instead stands on the periphery of that tradition.

Prophetic Literature. Is. 27:8 recalls Hos. 13;15. The fact that the east wind has been added here to explain the action of the ruach would seem to indicate that ruach means Yahweh's anger rather than wind, further substantiated by the fact that never in Exilic or Post-exilic OT literature do we have the divine possessive pronoun used with wind. Neither is wind used in this period as anything more than a metaphor to describe God's punishing power. So ruach here means Yahweh's spirit with the nuances of power and anger.

Is. 34:16 presents the spirit as the prophetic spirit because it is related to the prophetic word of 16a. The ruach and its action of gathering stands parallel to the mouth of the Lord which commanded. The mouth of the Lord is probably related to the book of the Lord in 16a, and if the spirit in the last part of 16b stands parallel to the mouth then it too must be related to the book of the Lord, the word of prophecy. It is the breath which uttered the word, or the spirit which inspired it.

Is. 40:13 uses ruach with the meaning, rare to the OT, of mind, the volitional and intelligent center of the being of God. 40:13 seems to be a reference to Proverbs: 16:2, 21:2, and 24:12, where the last two speak of weighing the heart, the volitional center of a man. The prophet in 40:13 seems to be saying that no one can weigh Yahweh's heart in this way. This interpretation is substantiated by the series of words used in 13b and 14, instructed, enlightenment, taught, knowledge, understanding, all having reference to the intellectual or volitional faculties. Mind is the meaning of ruach here.

Is. 42:1 speaks of the Servant's endowment with the charismatic spirit. In most respects the task of the Servant is prophetic, in many ways modeled after Moses, and as a true prophet he must be endowed with the spirit and the gifts that the spirit brings.

Is. 44;3-5 speaks for the first time in the OT of the spiritual regeneration of others besides the physical sons of Israel. Through the spirit, which is the life-giving power of God, there is also accomplished the regeneration of nature. It is a picture of the future.

Is. 48:16 is an assertion by the prophet of his inspiration by the spirit, this authentication probably being necessary after the prophet's bold statement about Cyrus, v. 14.

Is. 59:21 relates the spirit to the words placed in the mouth of the Servant, Israel, cf. 51:16, evidence of the fulfillment of the old covenant. The presence of the spirit is realized through the word and is the guiding presence of Yahweh.

In Is. 61:1, it is the spirit that inspires the prophetic word in the mouth of the speaker, who is either the prophet or the Servant.

Is. 63:10,11,14 uses ruach three times with essentially the same meaning in each verse. Vs. 10 is frequently taken to mean that the spirit grieved but a study of the verb shows that it really means opposed or resisted, giving to ruach the meaning of Yahweh's will or guidance. V. 11 is an allusion to Num. 11:17ff. and again uses ruach to express Yahweh's guidance. V. 14 may have reference to the bestowal of the spirit on the judges through whose consequent efforts Israel had peace during the period that she settled down in Palestine. But even if the reference is not to the judges, the following line, "lead thy people," makes it apparent that the function of the spirit here is to mediate Yahweh's guidance. It is, however, Yahweh himself who guides, as is repeatedly stated through this whole section. So there is no essential difference between the leading of the spirit and of Yahweh. The spirit here is called "holy spirit," because it partakes of the nature of Yahweh himself, and because Yahweh's purpose is good.

Ezekiel 1:12, 20, 21, and 10:17 use ruach to designate the motivating impulse of the chariot upon which Yahweh rode. Ruach chayah should be translated "spirit of life." The spirit, furthermore, is not the spirit of the living creatures, because the use of the masculine gender and the article designates an extraordinary spirit rather than the creature spirit; the four living creatures are only temple furniture, 10:17, and so must be vivified by the spirit of God in the same way as the chariot; Ezekiel shows much familiarity with the spirit of God leading one to believe he means the spirit of God here. So the ruach is God's own spirit and represents the volitional and intelligent center of God's own being. Ruach also has the same meaning in the series of texts beginning with 2:2 where Ezekiel is transported by the ruach. The ecstatic condition, if such it is, is brought on by the hand of Yahweh, not the spirit. The spirit never inspires the word in Ezekiel.

But the spirit transporting Ezekiel is not a blind motivating power but is purposive, suitable to ruach if it means the intelligent power of God.

Ezek. 36:27 speaks of the spirit in relation to the age of the new covenant. This text represents a climax in the OT presentation of the spirit in three respects: 1. The spirit is placed at the service of the covenant enabling Israel to know and to obey Yahweh's covenantal will. 2. The spirit performs his work of transformation not only in the nation but also in the individual. 3. The spirit no longer is to work on a man but in a man. The regeneration of nature is also anticipated along with the transformation of the members of the covenant community.

Ezek. 37:14 presents the spirit of God as the power that will bring to life the dead corporate body of the people Israel. It is the life-giving spirit.

Ezek. 39:29 presents the spirit in relation to the presence of Yahweh. Some commentators would relate this text to 39:23-24 and interpret it to mean that Yahweh will no longer hide his face because the spirit will have cleansed Israel enabling her to live in Yahweh's presence. This would make of the spirit a sanctifying power. A second interpretation, which would take the text to mean that Yahweh reveals himself through the giving of the spirit, seems preferable.

Joel 3:1-2 appears to be the fulfillment of Moses' wish in Num. 11:29 as anticipated by the prophet. But in the fulfillment, not only elders but sons and daughters, young men and women, even slaves are to receive the spirit. The inclusion of women and slaves is particularly unusual. It is limited to Israel, however, in spite of the phrase "all flesh." The prophesying seems to have reference to Num. 11 and the dreams and visions are mentioned as media of revelation in Num. 12:6. The result of the giving of the spirit is not the ecstatic state of the old nebiim, nor is it a new relation to God. It seems best to understand by Joel's statement the traditional interpretation, that all in Israel are now to become prophets in the manner of the great, traditional prophets. All are to hear God's word directly through the spirit and not through the mediation of special prophets. And all will proclaim it.

Hag. 2:5 speaks of the presence of Yahweh mediated by the spirit. It is the presence of Yahweh in his spirit that will give the returnees power to finish the work of rebuilding the temple.

Zech. 4:6 promises power through the spirit for the same task of rebuilding the temple, but in this case there is more than a hint that this power will be channeled through

Davidide Zerubbabel who, as a messianic candidate, will receive the spirit, and, as a second David, will complete the temple.

Zech. 6:1-8 speaks of Yahweh's spirit being set at rest in the north country. Some have understood this to mean the assuaging of Yahweh's anger because judgment has been visited on Babylon. A more likely interpretation takes it to mean the outpouring of the spirit on the exiles in Babylon, encouraging them to return to Jerusalem to help in the temple reconstruction. In favor of the latter interpretation is that judgment on Babylon has already been proclaimed, 1:18-20, with no necessity of repetition. The return of the exiles is mentioned in 6:15 which can be understood as the interpretation of the vision.

Zech. 7:12 in retrospect attributes the prophetic word to the inspiration of the spirit of God.

As a summary of the prophets it can be noted that for the first time the spirit is explicitly spoken of as God's mind, Is. 40:13. For the first time the spirit works in the hearts of individuals, Ezek. 36:27. For the first time, the influence of the spirit is extended to non-Israelites, Is. 44:3. Three characteristics of the function of the spirit are noticeable in this period. There is increasingly evident the spirit-like activity of the spirit. There is an increasing emphasis on the work of the spirit in the individual member of the congregation. Finally, the gift of the spirit is increasingly described as a permanent endowment.

Wisdom Literature. Job 4:9 uses ruach to indicate the punishing power of Yahweh's anger against the wicked. Ruach may be translated as power or it may be translated as breath. In the former case, the scorching power of the wind may be indicated while in the latter it would be the blowing power of the wind, its sheer blast, that is to be understood. In either case, the ruach of Yahweh is described under the figure of a wind, whether a strong one or a scorching one.

Job 26:13 uses ruach to mean the creative and life-giving power of God which brings forth light from darkness. Ruach should not be translated as wind because it stands in the series, power, understanding, hand, where wind would be out of place.

Job 32:8, in an Elihu text, speaks of wisdom as being a gift of the spirit of God.

Both Job 33:4 and 34:14 speak of the creative and life-giving spirit of God.

The influence joining the spirit and wisdom does not seem to have come from the Wisdom school or from the Priestly school. It must have been the prophetic tradition which joined wisdom and spirit.

Summary of This Period. No conclusions can be made from a study of the gender. Because in the vast majority of cases the article was excluded by the divine name or the divine possessive pronoun, there is indicated how closely the spirit continues to be associated with Yahweh. The only unusual verb used from this period was the verb "resisted" used in Is. 63:10. No longer is a man the passive recipient of the activity of the spirit. He can now receive or reject. Because a large part of the activity of the spirit as described in this period is placed in the future, the great surge in the activity of the spirit as described by these writers may have been due to the fact that in the shock of the exile the only hope to be seen was in the future. So there is a great increase in descriptions of this future hope in which the spirit plays a part. Only in the wisdom literature, or in texts which have received a wisdom influence do we have described the cosmic, life-giving, life-preserving activity of the spirit. In the literature of ancient Judaism, with its emphasis on the cult, the sacerdotal system and the law, the impression is left that the spirit is not a constitutive factor in their system. There is missing the interiority, the moral vitality, the driving purposiveness, the impending menifestation in power which characterizes the description of the spirit in the prophetic tradition.

Because the spirit is described in this period in a manner that makes it equivalent to the heart of God or his anger, it becomes increasingly difficult to think of the spirit as a substance or a being having an existence separate from Yahweh. The spirit is described as holy, representing the intelligent and purposive power of God, the only means by which God works in the hearts of his creatures.

Chapter VIII

The Psalms

Ps. 33:6 speaks of the spirit in its breath-like activity, God's power whereby he created the heaven and its hosts. It is joined here to the word as the breath which pronounces and bears it.

Ps. 51:13 places the holy spirit in a parallel construction with Yahweh's presence. The _ruach_ in vss. 12 and 14 has reference to the human spirit, leaving only vs. 13 with God's spirit. The interpretation of spirit in 13b depends to a large part on the meaning of 13a. The phrase "cast me not away from thy presence" does not refer to the sending away of Israel into exile, nor does it equate presence with the purely cultic presence of Yahweh. Nor should the presence of Yahweh be interpreted in terms of divine fellowship and personal communion with Yahweh himself for this thought coming at this point in the psalm interrupts the progression in thought developed from verse 5. It is necessary to interpret verse 13b in terms of something that comes after the forgiveness of sins requested in vss. 9-11, and after the inner renewal requested in verse 12. If the "presence" in 13a, together with ruach in 13b, is interpreted as divine guidance, there is a smooth and uninterrupted progression of thought continuing from verse 5 through vs. 13. The prototype for this pattern of interpretation is Ezek. 36:25-27 as joined to 39:29, in which verse 26 is almost an exact parallel to Ps. 51:12. The holy spirit is the means which Yahweh uses in this guidance.

The author of the psalm is not a king, for the spirit is separated from the monarchy after David, and the king could not have been the speaker of verse 18. The psalmist must have been an unknown prophet influenced by Jeremiah and Ezek. Holy spirit can refer to the realm of the spirit's operation, for only in a cleansed and renewed heart can the spirit dwell.

Ps. 104:30 speaks of the spirit as the creative power of God and distinguished God's spirit in v. 30 from man's spirit in v. 29 by the use of the possessive pronoun and by the plural number in v. 29. 1

Ps. 139:7 is similar to Ezek. 39:29 and Ps. 51:13 but goes beyond them in stressing the universality of the presence of God in his spirit, not limiting it to the sanctuary or the holy land.

Ps. 143:10 expresses the fact that the spirit is a benign influence from God which leads the believer to know and do God's will.

Ps. 147:18 uses ruach to mean the breath of Yahweh, a life-giving, life-sustaining power of God in creation.

Chapter IX

Late Literature

Prophetic Literature. Five times in the book of Daniel, 4:5,6,15; 5:11,14, it is said of Daniel that "the spirit of the holy gods" is in him. Even though the statement is placed in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, it reflects an Israelite concept of the spirit and so should be translated, the spirit of God. Numerous similarities to Gen. 41:38 are found in these Daniel passages leading to the conclusion that the spirit in Daniel serves the same function as in Joseph, bestowing on Daniel the gifts of rhetoric and eloquence and the qualities which make an ideal ruler.

Historical Writings. Neh. 9:20 seems to be an allusion to the gift of the spirit on Moses and the elders in Num. 11, and if so it is considered in retrospect to be a guide, leading and instructing the people through the elders. Neh. 9:30, in contrast, states that it was the spirit in the past that inspired the prophetic word.

I Chron. 12:16-18 speaks of the spirit as inspiring the poetic gift in Amasai. II Chron. 15:1 in a similar fashion speaks of the spirit as inspiring Azariah to eloquence. II Chron. 20:14 also shows the spirit inspiring the eloquence of Jahaziel. The description of the work of the spirit in these three passages seems to reflect the attitude towards the spirit of God held during the time of the Chronicler. The Levites considered themselves the heirs of the prophets in that they were the ones inspired by the spirit. But the spirit inspired their manner of speaking rather than the actual content of their message. In contrast, however, II Chron. 24:20 describes a true prophetic oracle delivered by Zechariah which seems to indicate that the action of the spirit as well as the oracle does not reflect the concept of the spirit in the time of the Chronicler but in the time of King Joash.

Summary of Judaism after the Reconstruction. There are only a few texts, most of which tend to view the work of the spirit in retrospect or to repeat old forms. There is no glance into the future, no expectation of an approaching outpouring of God's power through the spirit, no consciousness of the renewing and regenerating activity of the spirit. The power of the spirit, its free movement, has again been institutionalized in a cultic profession or aestheticized in poetry. Thus it disappears from the literature of the OT, freed to reappear again at a place and time of God's choosing. The paucity of references to the spirit can be attributed to the decline of prophecy and the emphasis on the law, with which the spirit has never been associated.

In regard to the nature of the spirit in this period, there is nothing to indicate a personalization of the spirit. It is still joined closely to Yahweh.

Chapter X

A Comprehensive Summary Of The Nature And Activity Of The Spirit In The OT

Ruach, with the background meaning of wind, denoted movement, incorporeality, power, and invisibility, and in addition lay beyond the control of man. These characteristics made it an apt term to use in relation to God. But when the Hebrews spoke of Yahweh as having a *ruach*, they intended meanings that far surpassed these background meanings. God's *ruach*, for the Hebrews, meant God's power, life, anger, will, mind, and even his presence. The first three are sometimes expressed metaphorically as breath. Furthermore, all of these meanings of God's *ruach* express the nature of God as he relates himself to his world, and not as he is in himself.

Spirit is an imperfect translation of the word ruach. The meanings of life, power, presence, and will can be translated by the English word spirit. But for the meanings of anger, mind, and breath, other words must be used.

The Activity of the Spirit. The activity of the spirit of God in the OT can be summarized under the following categories: life-giving, power, gift-giving, inspiring the word, causing the ecstatic condition, judgment and anger, guidance and teaching, the volition and intelligence of God, the presence of God.

The Manner of Its Appearance. In the earliest period five characteristics can be noticed: 1. Temporary 2. Violent 3. External results 4. Possession of the individual almost against his will 5. (Select) individuals. Trend in the Preexilic period: towards permanence, in or on the nation, interiority of results, increasingly projected into the future. For the Exilic and Post-exilic period: universality of its working, rather than being limited to Israel; elements of will and wisdom added to the meaning of ruach; qualified as holy, or good, and thus is credited with moral purpose; interiority of its activity is emphasized, changing the hearts and wills of men; man is no longer "possessed" for he can now resist or reject.

The Relation of the Spirit to Yahweh. There is nothing in the use of the gender, the article, the verbs, the adjectives, or anything else that will indicate a significant personalization of the spirit within the limits of the OT.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lloyd Rudolph Neve was born in Beresford, S. Dak., on October 16, 1923. He received his B.A. degree from Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, in 1945 and his B.D. degree from Trinity Seminary in the same city in 1947. In 1955 he graduated from Union Theological Seminary with the S.T.M. degree.

Called as a missionary to Japan in 1947, he has served 12 years as a rural evangelist on the southern island of Kyushu followed by a five year term as professor of Old Testament in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Tokyo.

He and his wife Muriel are the parents of six children.